

HOMESTEAD NAMES AS A REFLECTION OF SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN MABENGELA, NKANDLA

by

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DECLARATION

I, Mbali Aldromeda Shabalala, declare that this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my own original research. It has not been submitted in part or as a whole, for a degree at any other University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M.A. Shabalala', with a large, stylized initial 'M'.

M.A. Shabalala

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ABSTRACT

Homestead naming has been a Zulu practice since the days of King Shaka. Although this practice has been abandoned by some of the Zulus especially those living in urban areas, it still exists in some rural areas e.g. Mabengela. This study on “Homestead names as a reflection of social dynamics in Mabengela, Nkandla” , is divided into five chapters.

The first chapter ‘Introduction’ looks at both the introduction to the thesis and also the introduction to the research area. It looks at the methodology used in this study and also gives a brief background of the life people in Mabengela live.

The second chapter ‘The Zulu homestead and its social organisation’ pays particular attention to the Zulu homestead. It looks at the construction of a Zulu hut, the arrangement of huts in the homestead, the importance of the cattle kraal, etc. It also looks at the division of labour within the Zulu homestead and the importance of each member of the family in making things run smoothly in the homestead.

Chapter three ‘Morphological analysis of homestead names’ looks at the linguistic features of homestead names. It looks at the difference between nouns and names, the locative prefixes and suffixes used in homestead names and also looks different stems that homestead names have. This chapter also focuses on homestead names as a morphological exception.

The last but one chapter ‘The aetiology of homestead names’ looks at homestead names as a reflection of social dynamics in the community of Mabengela. It pays particular attention to the reasons for name-giving, time for naming the homestead, etc. It also looks at the different categories in which homestead names in Mabengela have been categorised and what these names reflect about the community of Mabengela.

The last chapter is the conclusion of the dissertation.

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1.1 Reasons for the study

My intention was to do an analysis of Zulu names, although I was not sure which names to study, I decided not to study personal names as that field has been given enough attention by Prof A. Koopman and some of the researchers in onomastics. Tremendous attention has been paid to their morphology and its aetiology. It was obvious that if I did research on Zulu personal names I would be repeating what other researchers have already written about.

While deciding on what to research, I was presented with a list of 142 homestead names in Mabengela by my supervisor which had been collected by Laurenz Plassmann (a man from Germany, who is doing architectural research on Zulu huts and the Zulu traditional way of living) in the Mabengela district in Nkandla (see maps overleaf: fig. 1.1 is the map of KwaZulu Natal and fig. 1.2 is the map of Mabengela). When doing a literature review, I found that there was only one researcher who had paid particular attention to homestead names. I felt that there was a need to do research on homestead names as it had not been given enough attention by researchers on onomastics. The second reason was that some insight from rural places is needed as few people tend not to research the rural places because these places are underdeveloped compared to urban areas.

Although much research has been done in the past decade on Zulu onomastics, there is only one researcher I have come across who has paid particular attention to Zulu homestead names, that is D.B. Ntuli. This study is in no way a duplication of his work, but rather a development on what he has researched. In his articles, Ntuli looks at different categories of homestead names in the districts of Umbumbulu, Inanda, Eshowe, Inkandla and Dundee and also pays a little attention to the morphology of these names. Although some of what Ntuli looked at in his articles will be looked at here, what makes this study distinct from his, is that it goes further than looking at the morphology and aetiology of homestead names as it also looks in depth at these names as the reflection of the social dynamics. Particular attention has been paid to only one district, as the main objective of the study is to see how homestead names reflect the societies where they are found.

Figure 1.1 Map of KwaZulu-Natal

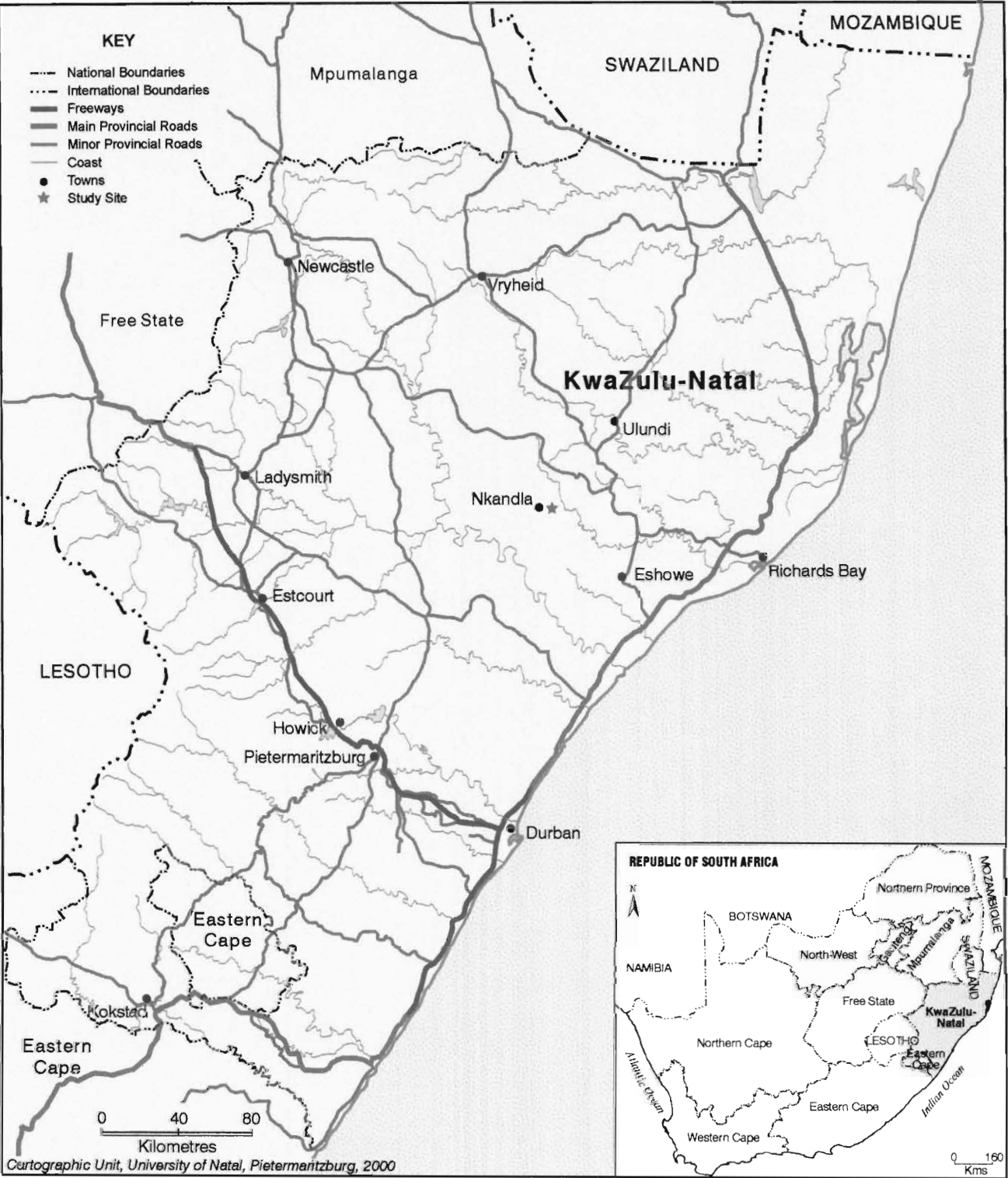
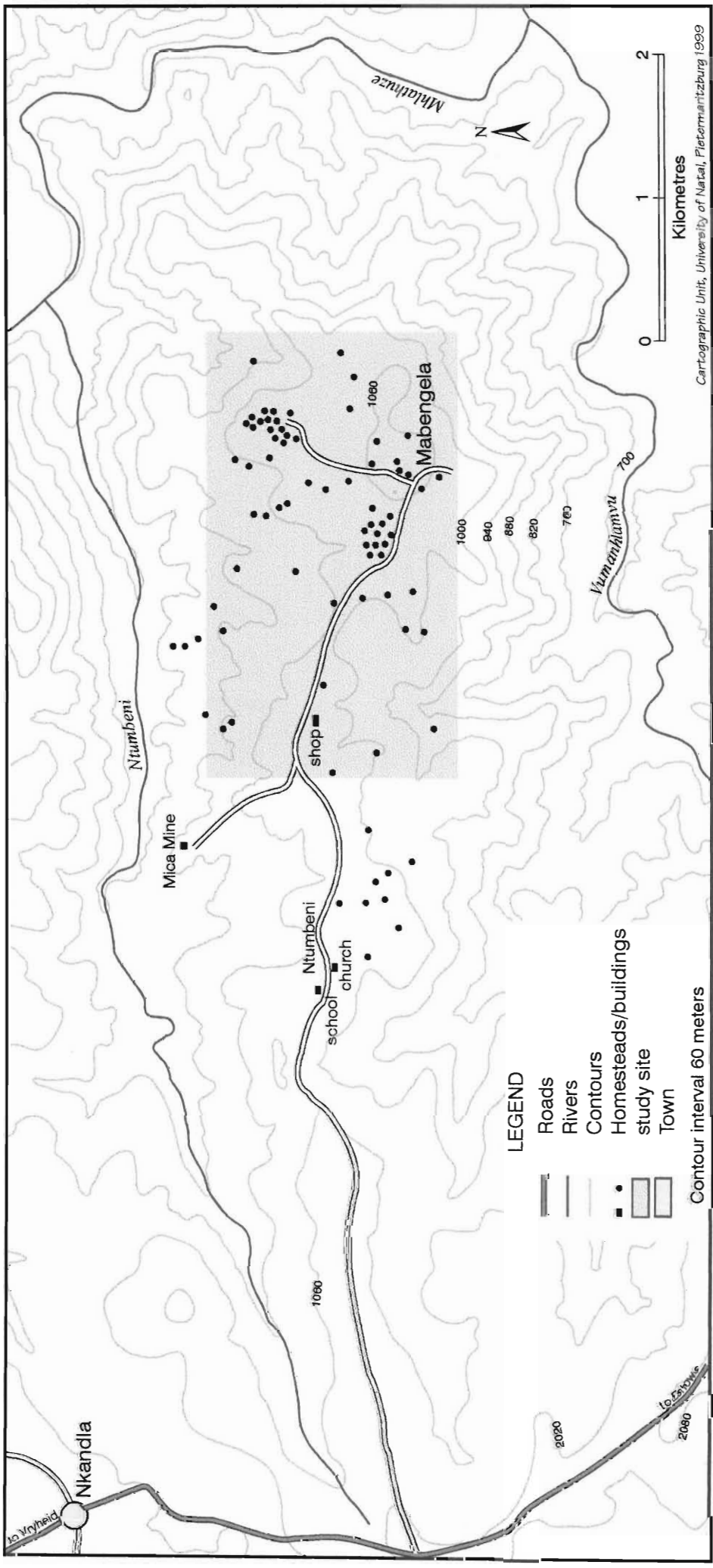


Figure 1.2 Map of Mabengela/ Nkandla district



Cartographic Unit, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg 1999

The main intention of embarking on the study was to do field research where I would meet people, learn more from them, not only about what is related to the study but also learn different life styles that people in other places live. As Hodder-Williams says:

“It is necessary of course to grasp the secondary literature and to become moderately familiar with the intellectual arguments over methodologies, but there are very few books which begin to communicate the earthly and exciting reality of politics ‘in the real world’, direct exposure spark on unexpected fascination.”
(1990:99)

There still are very interesting issues that one will never get the chance to know, unless one takes the initiative of going to the actual field where things are happening. Following Hodder-Williams (op cit) direct exposure to the field sparks an unexpected fascination.

Although I had never done field work before, I thought it would be interesting to explore a topic not familiar to me and to research an area totally unknown to me. The reason why I say the topic is not familiar is that not only does it deal with the Zulu language but to a larger extent it deals with social science, as it focuses on the social dynamics. Mouton and Marais (1988:7) define social science research as:

“Social science research is a collaborative human activity in which social reality is studied objectively with the aim of gaining a valid understanding of it.”

Although it is necessary to grasp the secondary literature and to become familiar with the intellectual arguments over different theories, at times one also needs to get in touch with the real world, where action takes place.

Seeing that there is one onomastician I have come across who has done a study on homestead names, I thought doing field research on homestead names would not only be a development of his study but would also give new insights on homestead names.

As I had never done field research before, lots of questions came to my mind. For example

- (i) How were the informants going to react when they saw me?
- (ii) What if no one wanted to tell a stranger about their experiences and the underlying meanings of their homestead names?

Being a Zulu did not favour me with unique experiences and values because fieldwork was totally different to what I expected. Being black and Zulu speaking did not guarantee me a lot

of information about rural Zulu lifestyles, as there are different settings where different Zulus are brought up, and those situations present their own different cultures and traditions, and it also did not guarantee access I needed about rural lifestyle, as rural people wondered why I wanted to research about Zulus, being a Zulu mother tongue speaker. Zulu people staying in rural areas take it for granted that if you are a Zulu, you know almost everything about Zulu traditions, customs and the way Zulus in rural areas live.

I went to the research area for a preliminary visit, to see the place and the type of lifestyle that the people living in Mabengela live. This was important because it gave me an opportunity to see the culture and the lifestyle of the people I was going to be working with. It is very important when doing research, especially in a Zululand community where people still maintain and uphold their culture, that you become part of the community and do like they do irrespective of whatever cultural differences you might have. As they say: “When you are in Rome you must do as Romans do”. This is because small issues that the researcher might take for granted may become big issues or may upset informants and might cause them to withhold valuable information.

After visiting Mabengela and talking to some of the members of the community, I was more enthusiastic about the research, as it would not only help me in getting data for my dissertation and completing my studies, but would also provide me with knowledge of traditional Zulu lifestyle as I never had a chance to live in a rural area.

1.2 Aims and objectives

A dissertation of this nature, though primarily falling within the scope of Zulu language comprises more than one discipline. These disciplines include sociology and geography. This is because it is dealing with the society and also topographical reality as reflected by names. Homestead names are not mere labels given at random, different circumstances, e.g. social, topographical, economical, etc. are taken into consideration when giving a homestead a name. Homestead naming has been a common practice in Zulu communities since the early days of Shaka and is still a practice in some Zulu rural settings, for example Mabengela. Ntuli (1992:20) says:

“One of Shaka’s homestead or posts was *KwaKhangelamankengane* (watch the vagabonds). The shortened form was simply *KwaKhangela*.”

Msimang (1975:9)says that some of Shaka’s homesteads were *kwaBulawayo*, *kwaKhangela*, *kwaDukuza*, *emKhindini* and *esiKlebheni*.

Although this practice has been abandoned by some Zulus, especially those who live in urban areas, it is still practised by many Zulus who live in rural areas. It is assumed that house numbers, street names and to a certain extent surnames have completely taken the place of the homestead names. This is the result of different factors including Zulus conforming to western practices in built up areas. As people of the same clan in rural areas usually stay close to one another, homestead names are used to distinguish one homestead from the other. Since people of the same clan do not settle close to one another in urban areas, some people therefore do not see the need of naming their houses, as house numbers distinctly differentiate each homestead from the other. It is very rare to find homestead names in townships where black people are living. It is surprising though to find that in some suburbs, some white people give their houses names, but black people who move to those areas do not give their houses names. One of the reasons for that might be because the reasons for house naming for black people are different to those for whites. When looking at some of the house names in the Pietermaritzburg suburbs, I came across a Zulu house name which is ‘*eMpembeni*’. It is rare though to find English homestead names in Zulu rural areas. For example, in Mabengela there are no western homestead names or names that have been adopted from other languages. There are numerous reasons why some rural people named and still name their homesteads.

The main aim of this dissertation is to investigate the extent to which Zulus still give names to their homesteads and also to see if these names have significance to the social dynamics prevailing in communities where they are found, for example Mabengela. As homestead names are categorised under place names, the aim was to see if their morphological structure is similar to that of other place names.

The reason a rural village of Mabengela was chosen as a research area was because it had been established as a research place by Laurenz Plassmann who is doing architectural research on

Zulu huts. He started his research in the mid 1990's. He contacted Prof Koopman with a list of homestead names in Mabengela for help, as he is not a mother tongue Zulu speaker. It was clear that Mabengela is still a traditional Zulu society where house naming is practised.

This practice of homestead naming is seen to be dominant in rural areas. People in rural areas still see a need of uniquely identifying their homesteads. This is because as people of the same clan usually settle close to one another, one cannot use the surname to distinctly identify a homestead. For example, in Mabengela there are about 73 Biyela homesteads out of about 142 homesteads, it is then easier to see which homestead one refers to when one uses a homestead name rather than a surname. The name given to a particular homestead does not only distinguish it from other homesteads, but also gives certain unique characteristics about the homestead. This is the reason why these names are not just given at random, there are certain motives that drive a person to give a homestead a particular name. Usually there are various stories or events behind each homestead name, although some people might claim that a homestead name is just a name and there is nothing attached to it. These names can thus be divided into different categories e.g. those about friction, those about wishes and aspirations, those about struggle, those about harmony, those about geographical locations, those about religious affiliations, etc.

It is usually the father of the family (headman) who names a homestead. Names can be a reminder of certain circumstances or events that affected the head of the family or the family at a particular time. In a few cases women also name their homesteads. These women who have the opportunity of naming their homesteads are those women who because of conflict in the family move out of the main homestead to build their homesteads and then name those homesteads themselves. Homestead names reflect the aspirations and experiences of different families where they are found. They might reflect the behaviour expected from the members of the particular homestead. Names also express the state of mind of the headman or women who gives it, they may reflect a pleasant state of mind, others may reflect conflict either in the village or within the family.

The social significance and the importance of homestead names can be seen in various ways.

For example, to refer to conflict between the kin and neighbours and also to refer to harmony within the village. Should the name-giver die, the homestead name is never changed (except in exceptional cases, where the head of the family will have to inform the ancestors about his intention to change the homestead name), it stays and get passed to the descendants. That is the reason why some homestead names are more than a hundred years old and members of some families do not know the aetiology of those names, as the late father was never asked why he chose a particular name. The reason for that is because the late father of the homestead was never asked why he chose that particular homestead name.

1.3 Data sources

Various sources of were used to collect information related to this study. Data sources consist of:

1. Interviews
2. Published sources
3. Unpublished sources

The primary source of data was the list of homestead names from the Mabengela district that were compiled by Lawrence Plassmann. Data was collected through literature review of unpublished data (theses, essays, seminar papers) and published data (books and journals). A major source of data collection was through visits to Mabengela and conducting interviews since a significant section of this research had to come from community members.

1.3.1 INTERVIEWS

As the research area was a rural place where the majority of informants were illiterate, being a Zulu mother tongue speaker I was able to conduct interviews with the residents of the area to find out about their way of living and to ask the aetiology of their homestead names. I was also able to ask several students on campus if in their townships they do have homestead names, and also asking what happens to a name if people move from a rural place to a township where homestead names are not as dominant as in rural areas.

1.3.2 PUBLISHED SOURCES

Some authors categorise place names under nouns whilst others categorise them under

adverbs. This led to arguments on whether place names are nouns or adverbs. Various published articles and books e.g. David Crystal's "Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics", Doke's "Zulu grammar" etc. were studied and a conclusion on whether place names are nouns or adverbs was made. Homestead names are derived from different noun classes but do not belong to any noun class, they therefore are not nouns but locative adverbs.

Other sources which contributed a great deal to this dissertation, were the publications of well known onomasticians, which include D.B. Ntuli, A. Koopman, L. Van Huyssteen. Ntuli is the only researcher I have come across who has paid attention to homestead names. His articles published in the journal *Nomina Africana* were very useful in this dissertation, in the sense that I could compare his data to the data I collected to draw conclusions about homestead names. It is through his data combined with the data analysed in this study that various conclusions were drawn, such as that most homestead names consist of compound stems, and that homestead names behave differently when compared to place names.

As homestead names to a certain extent behave like personal names, several articles published in *Nomina Africana* on African personal names were consulted for this study. Koopman's various articles on Zulu personal names were consulted, as he has done extensive research on Zulu personal names. His article on Zulu compound nouns (1984) and on Zulu place-names in the Drakensberg (1983) were of great assistance in comparing the difference in vowel deletion between place names and personal names and therefore concluding that homestead names in Mabengela delete phonologically only, as personal names do.

1.3.3 UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Unpublished sources which consist mostly of dissertations were also consulted in this study. These dissertations include those of Msomi (1989 & 1991), Mbatha (1992), Ngobese (1993), Tatham (1983) and others. The above dissertations were about different place names (school names, river names etc.) in different areas. The authors of these dissertations looked at the morphology and to a certain extent the aetiology of different toponyms. Msomi's (1991) dissertation on word categories, was of help in distinguishing adverbs from nouns.

1.4 Methodology

Field research was used to collect data. According to Sarankatos (1993:256) field research is a form of social enquiry into real life situations. Field research takes place in the 'field', that is in the natural setting, a setting that is not established for the purpose of conducting research. Sarankatos further says that, it has the purpose of exploring real life situations, studying behaviour patterns and the reasons behind social interactions. If one wants to know about the social life and social interactions of a particular community, the best way to get the information is to go where that community lives and see for yourself how they interact and ask why they do things the way they do them, observe them and if possible take part in their activities. Babbie (1998:280) says:

"It bears repeating that field research is constantly used in everyday life, by all of us. In a sense, we do field research whenever we observe or participate in social behaviour and try to understand it, whether in a college classroom, in a doctors waiting room, or an airplane."

The research method that was chosen was the qualitative method¹, to a certain extent quantitative method was also used. Bailey (1996:10) says:

"Qualitative attributes have labels or names rather than numbers, assigned to their respective categories. Any attribute that we measure in numbers we will call a quantitative attribute or variable."

Herbet and Riene Rubin (1995:43) cited in Babbie (1998:290) say that qualitative design is flexible, interactive, and continuous, rather than prepared in advance and locked in stone. As interviews were main method of collecting data, qualitative interviews were used as the method of collecting data. Babbie (1998:290) says:

"A qualitative interview is an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked in particular words and in a particular order. A qualitative interview is essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent. Ideally the respondent does most of the talking."

As the names were already collected, the objective of conducting field research was to probe

¹Sarantakos (1993:46) defines a qualitative method as naturalistic enquiry, which studies real world situations as they unfold. Qualitative method involves personal contact and insight, with the researcher getting close to the people, situation, and phenomenon under study.

into the experiences, wishes and aspirations of different families that lead them into choosing a particular homestead name and to see how these names reflected the social dynamics of communities where they are found.

To meet the objective, I had to get research assistants. They had to be members of the community of Mabengela. Research assistants had to be few in number, as many were going to arouse suspicions or scare the informants, and this might lead to the informants withholding information. The reason for them to be members of the community was that they knew the place and the people living in the area. Another reason was that community members would be more at ease speaking to them, as they knew them, than they would when speaking to a stranger. As members of the community, they knew experiences that led to other homestead names. Almost all Biyela homesteads in Mabengela are closely related, as they are descendants of the same man, what happened in one Biyela homestead is bound to be known by the others.

The objectives of the research were explained to the research assistants. They were firstly briefed about the origin of the research, the aims of the research and the time limit to do the research. They were then informed about their responsibilities and the role they should play after which they were given basic training on how to ask questions, e.g. open ended questions instead of closed questions. A questionnaire which had main questions that needed to be asked was presented to them. They had to familiarise themselves with the questionnaire, because they had to ask questions without looking at the questionnaire, as looking at the questionnaire might intimidate the informants.

Depth interviews were used as the method of collecting data. Walker (1985:4) cited in Viljoen (1990:290) says:

“The depth interview is a conversation in which the researcher encourages the informant to relate, in [his/her] own terms, experiences and attitudes that are relevant to the research problem.”

There are numerous reasons why I used interviews instead of questionnaires. This is because I had read from other researchers that the majority of informants tend not to return questionnaires, and also because in order to have an experience of social dynamics that exist in the area, one needs to stay with the people and see how they live, apart from hearing from

them. It is believed that one gets more information from interacting with people face to face, than one does when using questionnaires. As most of the informants were elders who were not educated and could not write, they were not going to be able to answer questionnaires. As a Zulu first language speaker, I was able to get information from them through interviews without having to ask them to write it down. Normally if one uses questionnaires, the rate of confusion that comes about when informants read the questions themselves is high. Whereas when using interviews it is easy to ask for clarification and probe into the question.

Informants might be too lazy to fill in a questionnaire but chances of them being too lazy to talk to you when you are at the door step are very slim, especially in a Zululand community where the majority of people still show hospitality. Interviews also give the researcher more freedom to ask questions which were not planned in advance but might seem related to the study. The interviewer can take into consideration the respondents' age and sex if s/he considers a question too controversial to ask. For example, questions asked to the male respondents were not structured similar to those asked of the female respondents, jokes could be made when speaking to female respondents but they had to be minimised or not used at all when speaking to male respondents. This is because female respondents were more approachable as compared to male respondents.

Although interviews were used as the method of collecting data, a questionnaire which served as a guide to the questions asked was designed. This questionnaire was given to the research assistants to familiarise them with what the research ought to find out, to minimise confusion to both research assistants and respondents. Babbie (1998:265) says:

“If an interviewer is unfamiliar with the questionnaire, the study suffers and an unfair burden is placed on the respondent. Moreover, the interviewer cannot acquire familiarity by skimming through the questionnaire two or three times. It must be studied carefully, question by question, and the interviewer must practice reading it aloud.”

When doing research, different types of instruments like pen, paper, tape recorder, camera, video camera, etc. may be used to collect the information. These instruments cannot be used in the same way in different situations for various reasons. In this research a tape recorder was used a great deal.

The reason why it was used instead of note-taking was because it was used during the preliminary visit and it was seen as a good instrument for collecting data. As the majority of informants were elders of the homestead, when interviewing them, some of them feel as if you are not paying attention to what they are saying when you are busy writing down while they are speaking. They want you to listen attentively when they are speaking. Some of them do not hold educated people in high regard. Hall and Hall (1996:162) say:

“Using an audio- tape recorder means that the interview is more like a conversation, and all exchanges are recorded. There will be a full record of what the informant said and how they said it.”

Using a tape recorder was very advantageous because I knew that I could replay the cassette for as long as I wanted, and get some points that might have been missed during the interview. The majority of informants were not familiar with a tape recorder, and were not aware that they were being recorded, therefore they were speaking freely and not withholding information, as informants tend to become very conscious about what they are saying when they know that they are being recorded.² The majority of informants thought the tape recorder was a camera. The disadvantage of writing down is that sometimes one may not write everything that the informant says. One disadvantage of using a tape recorder (which was easy to overcome) was that some informants had very soft voices (and I could not say ‘please speak louder so that you can be recorded’). In such cases when listening to the cassette, one will hear a barking dog instead of the informant. This was overcome by speaking after the informant as if getting clarification so that my voice will be recorded as the informant’s was not audible. To a lesser extent the camera was also used to collect photos to be used in this study. The reason why it was not used more was because some informants were not keen on having pictures taken. One of the research assistants told me that some people still believe that when they pose for pictures, their pictures can be taken and used for witchcraft. The people who were keen on posing for pictures were the children rather than the elders.

1.5 Problems encountered when collecting data

As each field research presents its own difficulties due to various factors, this research was no

²Not even one of the informants I interviewed knew s/he was being recorded.

exception. Various problems were encountered when conducting the it.

Modern infrastructure in South African communities range from first to third world standards. The Mabengela district is still underdeveloped (third world standards) and lacks basic technological facilities such as public phones, electricity and well developed roads. Transport problems were encountered since the research area is far from Pietermaritzburg where I am staying. This meant that visits to the research place were then planned for the time when there was availability of transport.

Each community has its own customs, traditions, values and norms. These must be taken into account when one wants to do a research in a certain area, as taking these for granted might result in the it not being completed. During the preliminary visit to the research area, I did manage to see the way people in Zululand dress and how they interact with one another. It was obvious that the majority of informants did not appreciate women in trousers, therefore I knew that however cold the place was, I had to leave trousers behind. According to Sanders and Pinhey (1983:154) interviewers should try to dress in a way that is not offensive to the respondents, and in every case should attempt to dress in the way the respondents themselves might dress. Babbie (1998:265) says:

“As a general rule, the interviewer should dress in a fashion similar to that of the people he or she will be interviewing. A richly dressed interviewer will probably have difficulty getting cooperation and responses from poorer respondents. And a poorer dressed interviewer will have similar difficulties with richer respondents.”

Doing research in a place which is under a chief and most of all where no one knew me, I had to get permission from the chief to visit homesteads. This is important because the chief of the district has every right to make anyone found roaming in his land without his knowledge accountable to him for doing that. Depending on his discretion that person might even pay for roaming around his land and troubling his people without his knowledge. If that person is bitten by a dog in the process of roaming around, the owner of the dog is not accountable, as he might say he was saving himself from the thief since he does not know the person. In traditional Zulu setting, all that is in the chief's land belongs to the chief including people themselves. Msimang (1991:1) says:

“Izwe elenkosi nabantu abakhe kulo abayo inkosi.”

“The land is the chief's and people in it belong to the chief.”

Krige (1950:176) says:

“In true Zulu thought there is no such thing as property in land. All land belongs to the king or chief, as the representative of the nation as a whole, and in him is vested the power of allotting land to his subjects.”

Because of the reasons cited above the research was on hold until the chief's or his council's (acting on behalf of the chief on his absence) permission had been granted. While awaiting permission, I had to get research assistants. They played a major role in assisting to get informants and to collect data. They also helped in translating some of the phrases used by informants which were unknown to me. It was obvious to me when we were doing research, that without them I would not have collected information.

Before conducting interviews I had to firstly learn the general dynamics of the community and what was expected of me as a woman. For example it is seen as disrespect in Zulu culture when a women speaks standing upright with the man. She is supposed to bend with her hands on her knees. Unlike in urban areas where when entering the house one sits anywhere where it is comfortable, in rural Zululand when entering the hut, the left hand side of the hut is where women sit and the right hand side of the hut is where men sit. This in Zulu is referred to as *isinini sesilisa nesesifazane*. I was very conscious not to make mistakes which might offend the informants and lead to them withholding information, nevertheless I did make mistakes. For example, in the majority of homesteads that were visited, grass mats were normally used to sit on, not wanting to offend informants I used to fold the grass mat before leaving so that the informants would not have to take trouble to fold it after we had left. When visiting one of the homesteads, the informant told me that I am not supposed to fold the grass mat as that is the sign of saying I will not be coming back. I should have left it unfolded as I might come back again. I felt that in the number of homesteads where we were folding the grass mat, informants might have thought that our intention was never to come back again.

In rural setting homesteads are built far from each other, therefore one had to walk long distances to collect information. In some cases after walking 10 to 15km, we either did not find any informants, or found some but they did not know what led to the choice of that particular name, as some of the names are a hundred or more years old. Another shortcoming

was that some of the informants were unavailable. This then meant that we had to go to the same homestead several times to get the person needed for the interview. People who were interviewed were elders because younger members of the family do not know how these names arise. A question might be asked as to why appointments were not made. Unfortunately in the place where the research was conducted there is no time for appointments, even if one can point out that one will come at a certain time, that does not guarantee that one will find the informants. Gossiping among members of the community was an advantage because when asking an informant about the name of his or her homestead, s/he might give you the meaning of other homesteads³ and what led to the choice of those homestead names, which shortened the distance one had to walk to the other homesteads.

Gender roles⁴ and *hlonipha* ritual played part in making female informants withhold information. Krige (1950:30) says:

behavioral
speech
“The behaviour towards relative in-law is largely bound up with the custom of *hlonipha*. This word literally means to have shame or to shun through bashfulness, and affects women to a greater extent than men. A married woman *hlonipha*’s her father in-law and all his brothers, the elder ones among her brother in-law, her mother in-law and all other wives of her father in-law. This means that in their presence she must cover her body from armpits and shoulder-blade downwards to cover her breasts, and she must put on her *umNqwazo* (band round the top-knot or over the eyes). Accompanying this *hlonipha* of action is the *hlonipha* of speech. A woman may not use the name (this does not affect the *isibongo* or sib name) of the above mentioned relative in-law nor any word containing the radical of such a name. Another word must be used instead, and so the speech of women differs considerably from that of the men.”

In Zululand, like in other places, male and females were socialised differently. There were roles which were mainly for men and those mainly for women. As wives were the ones that were normally at home, they were sometimes not at ease to talk about issues that involve men. The reason why these issues involve men, is because men were and still are the ones that name the homestead. Some wives were reluctant to be interviewed for fear of repercussions from husbands. Not aware of some of the cultural practice, I asked one wife to ask her father

³The meaning of these names was checked with other informants to see if the informant was correct.

⁴Schaefer R.T & Lamn R.P. (1992:326) define gender roles as expectations regarding the proper behaviour, attitude and activities of males and females.

in-law why he chose that particular homestead name and she said that I must come the next day and ask him myself because as part of showing respect she does not speak to him. As married women are bound by *hlonipha* custom, in some of the cases one could not understand what they are saying as they use different words to respect the names of their in-laws. This makes the speech of married women differ from that of a man. Krige (1950:30) says:

“A woman may be set free from the *hlonipha* of action by being presented with a goat (nowadays money) by the male group as well as by the women, for the purpose of *ukwambula* or uncovering her. She is not, however, released from the *hlonipha* of speech, till she is an old woman, when she is called a man, and no longer observes the custom of *hlonipha* in relation to men.”

In some cases the underlying meaning of the homestead name might be embarrassing, as these names are given because of certain circumstances that might be embarrassing to those living in the homestead. The informant therefore might not want to reveal what seems to be an embarrassment to him/her, and s/he will then claim that s/he does not know the underlying meaning of the homestead name.

To some extent race also affected the way I interacted with the informants. Being a black person investigating a black area has its own advantages and disadvantages. One of the advantages is that it is easier to communicate with people who speak the same language as you do, which makes the collection of data easier, as there is no need for translators. One of the disadvantages is that some black people (especially those who have worked in the apartheid government) do not trust black people, instead they trust whites. Some informants understand the reasons behind a white man researching a black population but they do not understand why a black person researches a black community. As the names were collected by Laurenz Plassmann, some informants for reasons they cited, felt more at ease giving him information than they did with me. One of the informants said that she prefers giving information to Laurenz because she worked for whites before and they are better than blacks are. She continued saying that things were far much better when the white government was in power than they are now with the democratic government.

The majority of informants were illiterate, This made it hard for them to understand why research on homestead names was conducted. To them there was nothing important that one

could do with homestead names. Their confusion led to them asking numerous questions like: “why homestead names in Mabengela, are there no homestead names where you are staying?” or “what are you going to do with what we have told you?” This meant that before getting the data I needed in some cases I had to do a lot of explanations and clarifications. On the basis of these questions I had to adjust the aims of the research to suit not only the study but also the members of the community. Informants were then told that the first Zulu books were written by non mother tongue speakers of Zulu and it is now time that Zulu mother tongue speakers take the lead in writing about their own way of living. This made some of the informants proud and free to give the underlying meanings of their homestead names. They were also told that a book will be written with all the homestead names and their underlying meanings which will stay in the chief’s court for the younger generation to refer to. As some of them do not know the meanings of these names and there will be no one in later years to explain to them, the book will be very helpful.

One informant asked “Why should we give you information and make you gain while we get nothing in return?” Although he said he was only joking after an explanation of the purpose of the research was given, deep down it was felt that he meant what he said. There are valid reasons which motivate informants to ask these questions, one of those reasons is that in a rural village like Mabengela work opportunities are very slim and the majority of people need something that might serve as appreciation for their information, as researchers do get something after the research has been completed. Some people in rural areas tend to believe that when you come from cities and most of all do research, you have lot of money and they then want to get something in return when they give information, this then meant that some money had to be paid to some of the informants to get the information.

1.6 Problems encountered in the analysis of data

As the names were collected by Laurenz Plassmann (who is a non mother tongue Zulu speaker), there were spelling mistakes that led to problems when trying to analyse homestead names according to their aetiology and morphological structure. For example, the homestead name *eMpumaze* (place of leaving with nothing) was spelled as *eMpumake* (place of getting out). These two names have different meanings, the incorrect spelling of homestead names

caused problems in the analysis of data. The problem of incorrect spelling of homestead names was not that demanding. As a Zulu mother tongue speaker and as a person who has paid attention to Zulu morphological structure, I was able to correct the spelling. Some names that were misspelled were easily identifiable e.g. *Phinduknenze* (place of do it again) instead *KwaPhindukwenze*. When conducting research I discovered that some names were misspelled in a way that they looked correct as the meaning was correct e.g. *eMpumake* (place of getting out) instead of *eMpumaze* (place of getting out with nothing). About 43 names in the list of 142 names were misspelled, (see appendix, 'The list of homestead names collected by L. Plassmann', page 161).

The second problem was that of carelessness by not putting relevant prefixes to the names. The reason why this is regarded as carelessness is because the person who has not studied the morphology of Zulu names will never see the importance of putting prefixes where they ought to be put or by putting a prefix which does not belong to the name e.g. *kwaNgedla* instead of *eNgedla*. Prefixes play a major role when analysing names morphologically. This then meant that I had to go back to the informants to get the correct names with their correct prefixes.

Using a tape recorder was an advantage because I was able to conduct interviews without having to write down what the informants were saying. Transcribing tapes is time consuming. A lot of time was consumed playing the cassette back and forth to get everything that the informant was saying. As writing down on the paper was going to take its own time. I decided to transcribe the tapes by writing on the computer instead of writing in the note book. A separate document for transcribing tapes was made. Names were then divided into different categories, e.g. those about conflict, those about struggle, those about wishes and aspirations, those that refer to witchcraft, those about happiness, those about gossip, etc. When writing the dissertation, a lot of time was saved because I just had to cut from the one document and paste to the other.

1.7 Theoretical background

Naming entities has been part of men's activities. It is through names that one can uniquely identify what exists around him/her. Although the process of naming has been with mankind

for ages, endless discussions around naming has vexed linguists and psychologists. Many linguists have tried to give a definite definition of the name, but no one has come with one definition of it name that will include everything there is about it. Sumbwa (1997:47) says:

“The American dictionary defines a name as: ‘a word or combination of words by which a person, place or thing, a body or class, or any object of thought, is designated or known’.this simply means that a name is a word of whatever form (simple, double or multiple structured) which denotes the identity of a person, place, thing class or body of some kind or an idea.”

Wagner (1978:73) cited in Meiring (1997:22) defines the process of naming as “the transmission of knowledge, episodes and foresights... stored in timeless propositions.”

Another question that has vexed linguists and psychologists is whether proper names have any meaning at all. This questions has led into two major views taken by linguists and psychologists. The first view is that proper names have no conceptual or descriptive meaning. This means that they are just mere labels or free variables that denote without connoting, that is, they refer to an entity without implying any attributes.

The second view is that proper names do have a descriptive meaning. Raper (1987:79) says that it has been argued that proper names are shorthand descriptions, that they indicate the logical sum of all the attributes of the referent, that they are predicate and that they have a predicate in their semantic representation and so forth. This study complies with the latter because almost all Zulu proper names do have a meaning. One of the informants told me that in Zulu practice when a name is chosen and given to a person, a place or homestead, it is not given at random, there is always an incident that leads to a particular name being given. The informant continued by saying that when a Zulu person says that the name has no meaning, s/he chose it because s/he liked it, this is usually not true. Kidd cited in Koopman (1986:15) says:

“A native will often try to put you off when you enquire about the meaning of the name by saying, ‘A name is a name and nothing more’. Yet it is frequently a great deal more.”

In the majority of cases the person giving a name might not be aware of the morphological or phonological structure of a name, but is always aware of the aetiology of that particular name.

In Zulu practice, people usually do not give names to entities because those names have a nice sound when they call them. The meaning or the underlying reasons behind that name is then of vital importance. This is the reason why some people are very proud of the meaning of their homestead names rather than the label that refers to the name. Sometimes there are disagreements concerning the homestead name among the family members. These disagreements concern the aetiology rather than the morphology of homestead names.

There are various theories with regard to names that are used by different linguists. Nicolaisen cited in Raper (1987:79) points out that there are three levels of meaning reflected by names, namely: **lexical level** -the dictionary meaning of the word or words comprising the name; e.g.

Personal name: *uThemba* (hope)

Homestead name: *eThembeni* (place of hope)

associative level - the reasons why the particular lexical items were used in the naming process *UThemba*. The reason why the personal name *Themba* was used in the naming process was that the parents were hoping to get a boy and they did get a boy. They then named it *Themba*.

EThembeni: The reason why the homestead name *eThembeni* was used in the naming process was that it was the head of the family's hope that they get children since they did not have children, they then named the homestead *eThembeni*.

onomastic level - the meaning of the denotative name as a name, that is, its application based on lexical and associative semantic elements but no longer dependent on them.

UThemba refers to the person with the name.

eThembeni refers to the homestead with the name.

On the basis of some association or motivation a name is applied to the entity, when a lexical item becomes a name, the lexical meaning becomes irrelevant and as time goes by it may disappear. The referential function of uniquely identifying an entity becomes primary.

In this study, Zulu homestead names will be analysed by using Sørensen's **denotatum** (what

is being referred to), **designator** (morphological structure) and **designatum** (the underlying reasons why a homestead is called what it is called)⁵. The reason why Sørensen's onomastic theory is chosen is because when I was doing a seminar paper for Honours presentation titled "Analysis of Zulu Bird Names using Sørensen's designatum, denotatum and designator" it was seen as an appropriate theory when analysing Zulu names.

It must be noted that homestead names have more than one denotatum, this is because there are some names that are duplicated, i.e. they refer to different homesteads with the same name. Zulu homestead names like most Zulu names have a different designator and they normally occur as locatives. There are those with simple, those with complex and those with compound stems. These names are derived from different parts of speech, e.g. verbs, nouns etc. Homestead names have a designatum which tells us something unique about that particular homestead.

This dissertation looks at both synchronic approach (considers a name as it exists at a specific point in time) and diachronic approaches (considers a name as it exist with reference to its historical aspect or with its development over the period of time). When looking at the synchronic approach, attention will be on the morphological analysis of homestead names. When looking at the diachronic approach, attention will be on the etymology and how the names reflect the social dynamics of the community where they are found.

1.8 Historical background of Mabengela

Mabengela is one of the Nkandla districts in KwaZulu- Natal. Nkandla is well known because of its historical encounters. Bulpin (1966:423) says:

"On the Southern border of Zululand, along the precipices overlooking the mighty valley of the Thukela river there lies a forest, known for its ruggedness the Nkandla (a place of exhaustion). It is a forest of immense antiquity and majesty, it is a place full of secret and legends of hidden caves and hiding places. This forest so beautiful and noble was the scene of a curiously vicious human conflict, which there reached a climax and unhappy end."

In some areas places are named after an event, a river which people of that place drink, a

⁵Sørensen H.S., 1963: 'The meaning of proper names'. Cited in Raper 1987.

mountain closer to that place and sometimes because of the rocks and stones found in that place. The place name Nkandla was named after the famous Nkandla forest. Of all the informants I interviewed, none of them know who named the place Mabengela, when it was named and what the aetiology of the name is. One of the informants told me that the district name Mabengela was the name of the ridge where the horses and sheep used to eat grass, when people started staying in the area, they then named the area Mabengela, the name was thus derived from the name of the ridge. Of all the members of the community, old or young I asked about the meaning of the district name, not one of them knew what its meaning was. Although this district name can be found in maps, many people living in Nkandla and some in Mabengela do not know it. Most people when they refer to the district use Chief's homestead name which is eMahlayizeni. Msimang (1987:17) says:

“Ngasekuqaleni ngichazile ukuthi ngibhekene nozalo lwakwaBiyela oluseMahlayizeni, kwelaseNkandla kwaZulu.”

“At the begining I explained that I am looking at the Biyela descendants who are at Mahlayizeni in Nkandla, Zululand.”

Msimang (1987:18) also says:

“Lapha eMahlayizeni uDidi wakha elikhulu inxuluma laseTengeni, ekhumbula phela ukuthi ukhule kahle umnewabo emteketisa.”

“Here at Mahlayizeni, Didi built a huge homestead named eTengeni, remembering that he grew well his brother spoiling him.”

Msimang (1987:18) makes no reference to the place name Mabengela instead he refers to the Chief's homestead name eMahlayizeni as the place name. The above statement then confuses the reader because the homestead name eTengeni was named before the homestead name eMahlayizeni (which is now referred to as a place name). At the time when Didi named his homestead eTengeni, eMahlayizeni did not exist. That may be the reason why when asking people about eMahlayizeni they find it easier to know what you are referring to, than when using Mabengela. These two names mean two different things, they therefore should not be confused because the place name is never the homestead name and the homestead name is never the place name.

Mabengela⁶ is situated at a high altitude on a plateau and is surrounded by three rivers which are Mhlathuze river, Vumanhlamvu river and Ntumbeni river. According to the informants, the first homesteads that were at Mabengela were *eTengeni*, *kwaSalanjalo* and *eMahlayizeni*. The majority of people now staying in Mabengela were staying near the Mhlathuze river and near Vumanhlamvu⁷. The reason for them staying near the Mhlathuze and the Vumanhlamvu river was that Mabengela was regarded as very cold (*ezinkangala*) because it is on the plateau whereas Vumanhlamvu is in a valley. When a game reserve was built, people had to move from Vumanhlamvu to Mabengela. Another reason why they moved from Vumanhlamvu is that Mabengela was closer to the main road (where they board taxis), and also close to the schools.

1.9 History of the Biyela clan

It is important to give a brief history of how the Biyela clan came to Nkandla, then to Mabengela. Originally, the surname of the Biyela clan was Zulu. One may then ask: “if their clan name was Zulu, how did they come about to be Biyelas?” Bulpin (1966:8) says:

“Biyela clan considered its origin as scandalous and determinedly remained unmarriagable within the Zulu clan even though proclaimed independent.”

In Zulu culture it is taboo for people of the same clan to marry each other. If such a scandal happens within a clan those people involved were usually killed. The Biyela clan is thus the sub-clan of the Zulu clan. Bryant (1967:424)says:

“But out of clans, there frequently emerged ‘sub-clans’. A common method by which such a sub-clan came into being was when some king or chief fell in love with a bewitching girl of his own clan (technically, his ‘clan sister’) and forthwith married her, which marriage of one’s ‘sister’ (exogamy being the binding rule among the Ngunis) was a serious breach of a law. The royal transgression was soon rectified by a process of giving the girl’s family a new clan name; so that it could no longer be said that his Majesty had broken the law and married his sister, but a maiden of Such-and-such a clan .”

⁶Please refer to fig. 1.2 on page 3

⁷ The place name Vumanhlamvu was named after Vumanhlamvu river situated close to where they were staying.

The Chief Ndaba⁸ was staying at the Chief's homestead called KwaNobamba. One of Ndaba's sons Xhoko, had a beautiful daughter. His daughter was beautiful in such a way that she was tempting not only to those boys who do not belong to the Zulu clan but also to those who are of the Zulu clan. One of the boys who was staying at kwaNobamba was then tempted by the beauty of this girl. It was not just a mere temptation because Xhoko's daughter got pregnant. When she was asked who made her pregnant, she did not point outside the clan but pointed at Dingane. This came as a surprise to those of the descendants and what used to be done when people of the same clan were found in a similar situation had to be done. They (Dingane and Xhoko's daughter) were both supposed to be killed. Mkabayi's love for Dingane saved them. It came as no surprise that Mkabayi⁹ protected Dingane because she loved him. Xhoko was then asked to leave kwaNobamba and his daughter to remain. Msimang (1987 :17) says:

“Kwancengwa uXhoko ukuba aphume ekhaya lapha ukuze ingane yakhe isale isiba yintombi lapha kwaNobamba ukuze kubiyelwe¹⁰ umntwana lowo.”

“They begged Xhoko to leave the homestead so that his daughter will remain and become maiden at kwaNobamba to protect that royal child.”

Xhoko then left and went to the place which he was given, named eNtabakhathazo, underneath the mountain uMadlokovu. When he left kwaNobamba his clan name was no longer Zulu but Biyela, because they were surrounding ‘ukubiyela’ the scandal. He named his homestead kwaMbiza. He stayed there with his family. He was called again and was given people who were going to look after him and people he was going to rule, all this was done by Shaka, the son of Senzangakhona who was ruling at the time.

Shaka gave him another place which was kwaQomintaba and people to rule. Seeing that the place was too big, he decided to give it to his elder son Menziwa to rule it. He stayed at Ntabakhathazo until he died. Menziwa was a twin with Didi. Menziwa and Didi were very fond of each other, it came by no surprise that Menziwa took his brother along when he was

⁸Ndaba referred to above is Jama's father, but Jama and Xhoko had different mothers as Ndaba had a lot of wives.

⁹Mkabayi was Jama's daughter.

¹⁰The surname Biyela came from the word ‘ukubiyela’ (to protect/surround).

going to rule kwaQomintaba. Menziwa was regarded as a hero and loved by Shaka because of his power and strength when fighting. King Shaka sent his warriors to fight Macingwane the son of Phakade who was ruling amaChunu in Nkandla. Menziwa was the leader of the army as one of the powerful people. As expected, he killed amaChunu and they (amaChunu) separated and went to different parts of the world; those few who remained called themselves the abakwaMajola. Maybe this is the reason why there are lots of Majola families in Mabengela. After defeating amaChunu, Shaka then gave Menziwa land in the present day Nkandla area.

After some time Menziwa realised that if his brother stayed with him he would never be able to rule because he would be under him. Menziwa then asked his brother to take his followers and go to Nkandla where he would be able to be a Chief himself and rule. He then told him that he must go to Nogudulela Khanyile who would show him his place and its boundaries.

Nogudulela was the man who remained when amaChunu were escaping the war that was led by Menziwa because he did not want to leave his cattle behind. Didi was directed to Nogudulela's homestead by Zululiyaduma Mchunu who had changed his clan name to Majola. According to the informants, that is why there are lot of people with the Majola surname at Mabengela, although they are not as many as the Biyela's.

When Didi arrived at Nkandla he was old and his sons were also old. Msimang (1987 :18) says that his sons were Gebedu, Maphungana, Sicocwana, Makhedama, Mthiyaqwa, Nondumo, Mpungushe, Mkhenkethe, Shulu, Gwazane, Nhlwathi, Mqalane and Gwayisa. Didi named his homestead *eTengeni*. Although Didi had so many sons, the sons that the majority of informants seemed to refer to were Mthiyaqwa and Makhedama. Makhedama was older than Mthiyaqwa. In Zulu culture the older son normally becomes the chief after the death of his father. I was told that Makhedama was not interested in anything that had to do with ruling. Instead when matters were directed to him as the older son, he would transfer them to his brother Mthiyaqwa. When Didi died Mthiyaqwa was then made a chief because his brother did not want to become one. Mthiyaqwa left eNtengeni and went to build his homestead and named it eMahlayizeni.

1.10 The background of Mabengela

According to the informant, Mabengela consisted of a population of 2 500 people as counted in census 1996, and is now estimated between 2 800 - 3 000. In traditional Zululand, homesteads are usually built far from each other and each homestead consists of a number of huts. Each hut may be given its own name. When comparing the district to what it used to be like a number of years ago, it can be seen that tremendous development has taken place in the area. Because of the development that has taken place in the area over the years people have moved within the area for convenience, to live next to the schools, main roads and shops. Zulu (1984:2) defines development as:

“The accepted definition of development is that it refers to a process which seeks to meet everyone’s basic needs i.e. food, clothing, shelter, education, health sanitation, clean drinking water, and some public transport.”

Mabengela is still a traditional Zulu society where homestead naming is practised. Although some people (especially the young men) in this district have gone to seek jobs in big cities, the majority of people in Mabengela subsist by planting crops and herding cows. This district is favoured by climate because rainfall and fertility of soil make cultivation undemanding for the members of the community. This area is usually dry in winter as rainfall is minimal, but there is a possibility for planting some crops during winter. The majority of people start their planting in spring, expecting favourable rainfalls during summer. Sugar beans and maize appear to be the most cultivated crops in the district. Each family cultivates its own fields.

Although Mabengela is a traditional society, different factors have affected the traditional way of living in this community. These factors include migration and introduction of western ways of living in the area that are in conflict with the traditional way of living. Extremely limited local job opportunities in Mabengela means that people who wish to obtain employment have to go to other areas. In this area there are no white farms that people can work on to generate income for themselves. The majority of older informants expressed the inability to live independently of whites, saying that whites who used to assist them for things like maintenance of the roads left the district during 1994 after the democratic elections. This led people to leave the area to look for jobs in big cities, and that disturbed the stability of the families, as people leave their homesteads and their families to stay in areas where they have managed to

find jobs. The reason why the majority of people are not working is because it is not easy for them to commute daily to neighbouring towns or cities to seek jobs because of the lack of money. At present a taxi from Mabengela to Nkandla is R7.20¹¹ return. Although this might seem like little money to other people, it is actually a lot of money to someone who is not working and not receiving either a wage or a salary. In Nkandla, there are no job opportunities, this then means that a person will have to go to either Melmoth or Mpangeni to look for a job which will cost about R40 return taxi fare.

The majority of migrants are males, even those who are now unemployed were once migrant labourers, especially the older males. The reason why the majority of migrant labourers are males is because wives are supposed to look after their families while their husbands are working in other places, as there will be no one else to do that if they also were to go and look for jobs in big cities. The permanent population thus consists of females, young children and a few young adults as the majority of them go to different areas to continue with their studies or to look for jobs. People who leave the district for different reasons mentioned above, usually come home during holidays like Easter or Christmas or when there is an urgent need for them to come home, for example when a member of the family is getting married. During the absence of other members of the family people who are the permanent population subsist on crop production. Krige (1950:184) says:

“Agriculture is the special sphere of women, who hoe the ground, sow, weed and reap the crops, later grinding the corn or mealies for use.”¹²

Apart from subsisting on ploughing, some women also make beer pots and mats and sell them in the town nearby and also to people who visit the area, to generate some money.

Some of the females in this area, especially the older ones have never worked in big cities before and they seem to like it that way. According to them, the reason why they do not like working in big cities is because they believe (as they have been told by those working there), that there is crime and people are not as friendly as people in rural areas. Since they have never

¹¹July 1998 taxi fare.

¹²The majority of women in Mabengela at present do not grind the mealies themselves, instead they take in to a grinding machine that grinds it for them at a certain price.

worked in big cities and do not think that there are possibilities of getting jobs there, the majority of them do not see the need to be educated as they can communicate with each other effectively without education. That is why many of old people in this district are not educated and they are happy with it.

Mabengela is an area where there has been relatively little disturbance of rural life style. There is no artificial population settlement in this area. Because of this, it is not surprising to find that some of the children in this area have never seen a white person before and some of the women have never left the district and they do not know what a town looks like.

Traditionally there were few literate people in the area, but with time a number of young people in the area have become educated and therefore have increased the literacy of members of the community. This then results in the indirect conflict between looking after cattle and the school. As young boys go to school, in some homesteads there is no one to look after the cattle and that sometimes leads to the unguarded cattle destroying other people's plantations, which creates conflict or tension between those involved, i.e. the owner of the cattle and the owner of the plantation.

Mabengela is a stable community where the rate of crime is very little, if it exists at all. This is because of different factors including that not many people frequent the place because it is remote from cities and big towns. The main reason is that in the district like Mabengela where the population is homogenous there is usually no crime, or violence, and people are not frightened to visit each other at night (as dark as it is, as there is no electricity to light the streets as is the case in some urban areas), some even sleep with their doors unlocked. People living in Mabengela do not live isolated lives, they know one another however far they might be living from each other, this shows the communal ties that these people have. Although families are independent of one another, i.e. each family provide for itself, this has never disturbed the communal spirit that these people have. Schneider (1984:5) says:

“The more remote is the village the more traditional and homogenous is the population, the stronger the family ties.”

This district does not have permanent health facilities. Before, people living in Mabengela had

to travel long distances to get medical help in Nkandla hospital, which is the nearest to them, i.e. about 15km from Mabengela to Nkandla. Some members feel that that was not convenient for them as they had to wait a long time for a taxi as it comes only at certain times. The situation has now improved as the mobile clinic comes once a week to issue medical assistance to those who are sick. Even those who are not sick also go and ask for pain killers pretending they are sick, so that when they get sick during the week as the mobile clinic comes only once a week they can use those pain killers.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the structural organisation of a traditional Zulu homestead and the sexual division of responsibilities in the homestead. It also highlights some of the changes that have taken place over the years with regards to the Zulu traditional way of living. It pays particular attention to the arrangement of huts, the importance of the cattle kraal, the importance of the ancestors as they play a major role in homestead naming and the importance of each member of the family.

Ancestors play a major role in homestead naming. The reason why ancestors play a major role is because when conducting field work it was discovered that some of the names were more than a hundred years old, if not older than all the living members of that particular family. The reason for this is because those names were given by the late great grandfathers of those particular homesteads. As the descendants did not ask why a particular name was chosen, this led to the reason why some members of the family did not know the underlying reasons behind a choice of that name.

This chapter also focuses on polygamy as practised by the majority of families in Mabengela and the role each member of the family plays in homestead naming. It also looks at the impact that polygamy has in naming. This chapter also looks at the importance of each wife in the homestead, how she provides for her family as she is responsible for her own family, i.e. her children and her husband will also be discussed.

In Zulu custom, a man is called a man because he has a family, homestead and a number of cattle, goats and sheep which belong to him, although in true Zulu thought it is not his own, it belongs to the ancestors. A man does not get much respect from other people if he is regarded as being old but does not have a homestead that belongs to him. If a man gets married and continues staying in his father's, he is still a child and is subject to any rules that are laid by his father. He cannot do as he wishes in his father's homestead. If he wants to do

something, he must firstly consult and get permission from his father. It is after he has moved out of his father's homestead to build his own that he can make his own decisions about his family, but he must inform his father about whatever he wants to do, even after he has moved out of his father's. He informs his father not to get permission, but to let him know about what is happening in his homestead, as in true Zulu thought a man never used to refer to the homestead as his, but he used to refer to it as his father's. Stuart (1913:31) says:

“When a young man marries, he either stays for some time in his father's kraal (his wife having her own hut) or moves taking his mother with him (if she can be spared) to some site at a distance, approved by a chief or his representatives and acts on the same principles that governed his father's domestic affairs.”

In traditional Zulu setting a homestead consists of a number of huts, with each hut used for different purposes. Unlike in urban areas, the toilet was never built inside the homestead, it was normally outside it. Bryant (1967:413) says:

“As a matter of fact, the several huts were not separate ‘houses’, but rather separate ‘rooms’ within a single home, in each of which was domiciled a wife and children of a polygamous husband. Each kraal or collection of huts was therefore a many-roomed house, occupied by a single family.”

This however is not the case in urban areas where a house consists of just one building with different rooms separated according to what they are used for. Ntuli (1992a:21) says:

“A look at any township gives a picture of monotonous uniformity caused by identical ‘match boxes’ which it sounds like a misnomer to label as homes.”

In some urban areas the toilet is outside the main homestead, in others the toilet is inside the house, people do not have to go outside to relieve themselves. One of the characters in Zondi's drama “**Insumansumane**”, when describing urban houses and the way of living in these places says (1986:27):

“Bangamanuku abelungu, bachama endlini, bafinya qede amakhovula bawafake esikhwameni, baqokelela indle ndawonye khona futhi endlini, thina....siwalahla laphaya amafinyila.”

“White people are untidy, they urinate inside the house, they blow their noses and put mucus in their pockets, they keep excrement together in the house, we.....throw the mucus over there.”

The above quote illustrates how important it was in traditional Zulu homestead setting to have

different huts and to do things in different places. It was seen as not just untidy but as a sign of bad luck if someone relieved himself inside the homestead, even dogs were taught where to go to relieve themselves.

In ancient times, a home for Zulus was not just a home where people used to stay, it was their school where they were taught different ways of taking care of themselves, where they were taught their culture, where they were taught who they were and what was expected of them. Apart from that, these homesteads were their hospitals, where new life used to start and where people used to be cured. These homesteads were also non profit generating hotels for strangers who needed a place to stay for a night before continuing with their journey the next morning. A homestead was therefore very important in rural areas and it still is, although it does not function in a similar way as it used to, as a result of social changes that are taking place over the time in these areas.

Although Mabengela is a traditional Zulu rural place, it is not the same as some Zulu rural places that existed during the reign of King Shaka, because of the changes that have taken place over the years. In a traditional Zulu setting there were no schools and no churches. But now, because of changes and development in the area, Mabengela has schools and churches and their way of life is not altogether similar to that of the great grandfathers of the district. These developments, apart from bringing change in the community, also influence the way people live in the district. It is because of these changes and some not mentioned, that the homestead in Mabengela does not function similarly to the way it used to.

2.2 A Zulu hut

When building a Zulu hut everyone in the family used to be involved. Building a homestead was not a daunting task as each family consisted of many members, which led to many hands engaged in the task. Nowadays the majority of work is done by the wives. During field work, it was noticed that wives had a major hand in the building of the hut. In small families, members of the community used to come and offer a hand in the building of the hut. The responsibility of the men is usually to chop the wood, while on the other hand wives are

responsible for digging sods¹³ '*amasoyi*', (see figure 2.1) for building the wall of the hut, thatching the roof and smearing the inside of the hut. When this occasion came, previously wives used to make beer so that those who came to give a hand would have something to drink, as building a hut was faster when done by many people. This however is not common nowadays because people build huts by themselves without the help of the community. Krige (1950:44) says:

“The building of a hut is work which a man does not undertake alone. He will instruct his wives to brew beer and then inform his neighbours of his intention to build. Many helpers will turn up, knowing that there will be beer, and such work is a pleasant social event. Even passers-by are expected to lend a hand when a hut is being built.”¹⁴



Figure 2.1
Sods put together to make a wall for a hut.

According to the above quote, building a Zulu hut is the work which a man does not undertake alone, nevertheless some people do build a hut by themselves in Mabengela without the help of others. This can be seen in the homestead names they give their homesteads e.g. *kwaVukuzithathe* (place of waking up and taking yourself), *eKuzameni* (place of trying),

¹³A sod is a piece of soil surface covered with grass and held together by the roots of the grass, it is usually squared (like blocks) for building a hut.

¹⁴That is why there is a Zulu idiom which says 'Akudlulwa ngendlu yakhiwa' (do not pass-by the house being built).

kwaZakhele (place of building for yourself) etc. The aspirations and emotions of the builder are also reflected in these names. Ntuli (1992b:31) says:

“Many of the house names are a reflection of the ‘heart’ of the members of the family. A person who has built a good house is justifiably proud of that achievement, hence *eBhongweni* (pride).”

An informant told me that his father named his homestead *kwaBambangozwane* (place of holding by a toe) because when he was building the hut no one assisted him, he then had to hold the nails and the hammer with his toes, while holding the rope and the thatching needle with his hands. Depending on the number of people involved in building a hut and their hard work, some people do finish a hut in one day, whereas others can take a week or more to finish the hut. One of the reasons for taking long in building a hut was not having sufficient material to build a hut.

In this study I will look at building a modern Zulu hut (a hut made of sods, see figure 2.3) and also constructing a traditional beehive hut ‘*uguqasithandaze/ iqhugwane*’. Beehive huts are no longer built in Mabengela as they were before.

2.3 Building a Zulu hut

When building beehive huts (*amaqhugwane*), wattle was used and they were thatched with grass and supported by poles inside. A modern beehive hut that was found in Mabengela was built by sods from the ground and then thatched with grass. This beehive hut does not have windows, (see figure 2.2). Some of the informants said that one of the reasons for not constructing these huts anymore was because they are very easy to burn. The basic materials that are used for building a rondavel are sods (*amasoyi*) that are dug from the ground, one or more upright poles which are placed on the centre to support the roof, wood used for roofing (*izintingo*), which supports the grass on the roof so that it does not fall inside the hut, grass for thatching the roof, a rope used for stitching the grass to the wood on the roof, one or two small windows to bring light to the hut rather than to have a nice outside view, and a door. Not just any kind of wood is used for roofing, strong wood is needed so that the grass will be firmly supported, (see figure 2.4).

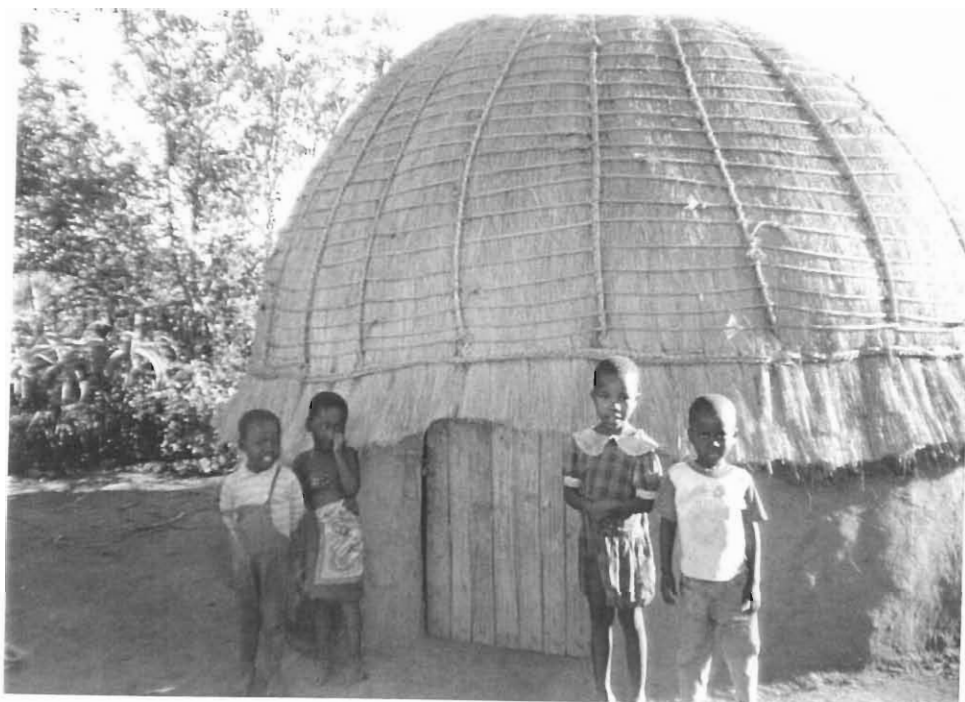


Figure 2.2

Uguqasithandaze/ iqhugwane, the modern beehive hut made with grass and sods which was the only one found in Mabengela.

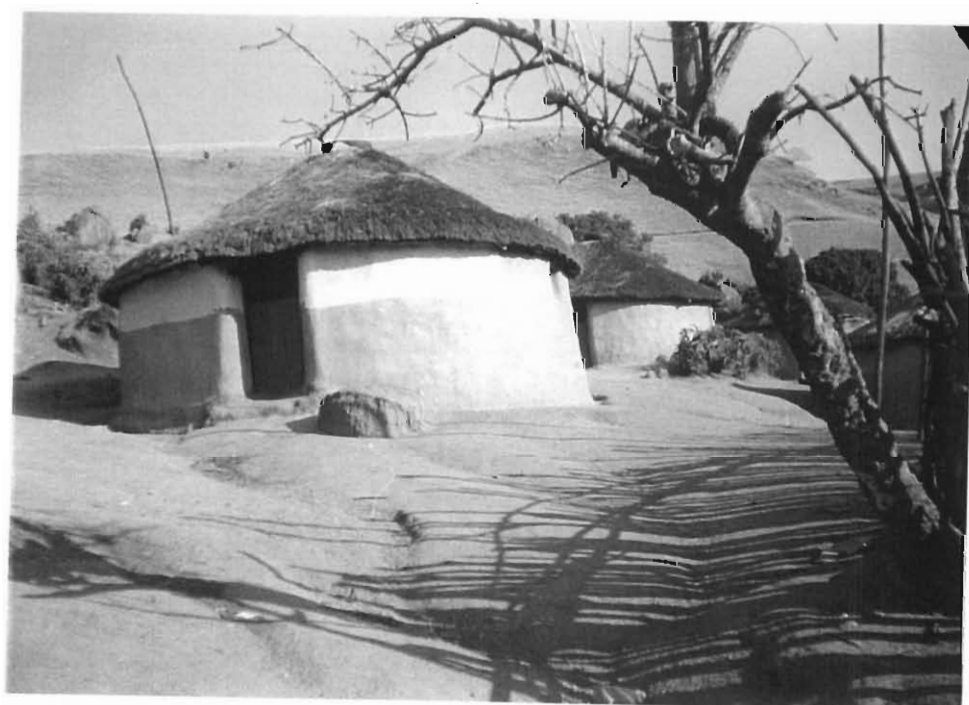


Figure 2.3

Modern huts made with sods that are a majority in Mabengela.

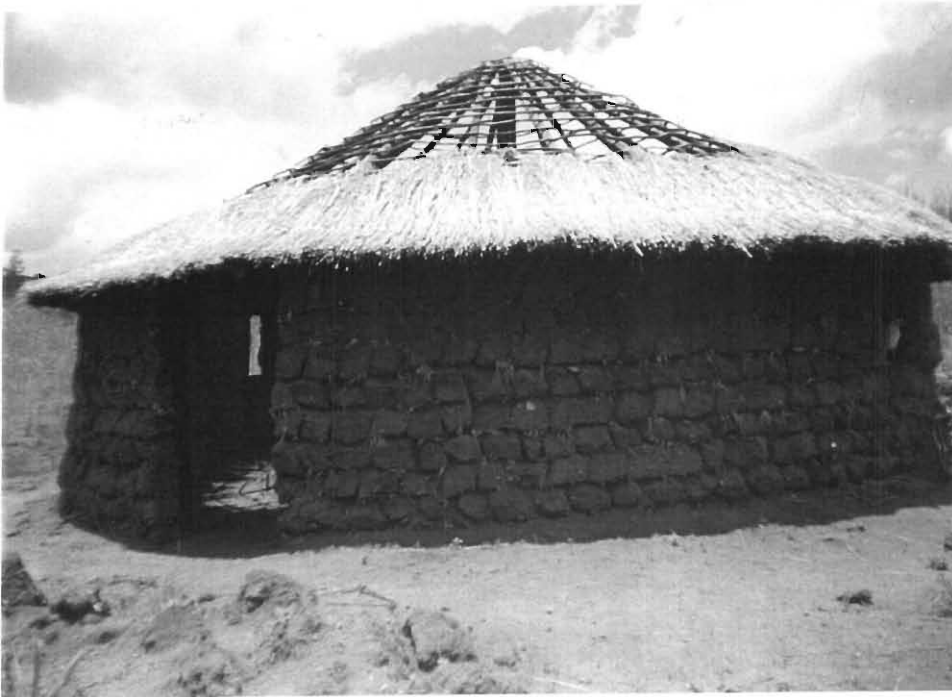


Figure 2.4

A construction of a Zulu hut, poles used to support the grass.

Msimang (1991:15) says:

“Izigxobo nezintingo lezo ezemithi yekhethelo engadliwa umuhlwa iphehlwe kalula. Nansi eminye yayo; umshashane, icibo, uthathawe, umthathe njalonzalo.”

*“Those poles and that wood are of good quality which is not eaten by termites and easily twirled. These are some of them: **umshashane, icibo, uthathawe, umthathe** etc.”*

After the hut has been constructed, the floor is levelled with clay, and the clay is beaten hard using a smooth stone (*imbokodo*) until the surface is smooth. After it has been levelled it is smeared with cow dung. To keep the floor looking good, it is smeared at least every three weeks. While smearing the floor, the fire place which is a circular rim, is made in the middle of the hut next to the pole (*insika*) that is placed in the middle of the hut to support the roof. The doors of all huts usually face the cattle kraal. Although the majority of huts are no longer beehive huts (*amaqhugwane*), some doors are still made in such a way that adults and tall people are obliged to bend when entering the hut.

In each and every hut there is *umsamo* which is at the far end of the hut. This place is usually dark as it is at the far end where the light which enters through the door is not easily transmitted. This place is used for keeping utensils, pots and other valuables. No one is allowed in the *umsamo* except the wife of the hut and the homestead head. The *umsamo* of every hut is a very sacred place where the ancestors are believed to be dwelling.

2.4 Arrangement of huts in a Zulu homestead

Traditionally, houses in a Zulu rural village were not just arranged anyhow, there was a specific way in which these houses used to be arranged. Msimang (1991:4) says:

“Kungaliphutha elikhulu ukuba izindlu zesiZulu zibekwe noma kanjani nje. Kufanele zilandelaniswe ngononina bazo ngobukhulu nangokubaluleka kwazo.”

“It will be a great mistake to put Zulu huts anyhow. They are supposed to follow each other according to their greatness and their importance.”

A Zulu homestead is usually arranged in a circular formation. Stuart (1913:30) says

“Now it is universal custom to arrange huts in circular formation, from which method indeed the word ‘kraal’¹⁵ has evidently been derived. ...select a sloping ground, though when this is done each hut is carefully levelled.”

Although some homesteads in Mabengela are still arranged in a traditional way, the majority of people are no longer arranging them that way and they do not see the importance of arranging them as their ancestors used to. There were reasons for arranging a homestead in a particular way, for example, the great hut was arranged in a manner that it was facing the cattle kraal and the entrance to it. The first reason for that was that when the great hut is facing the cattle kraal (which is at the centre of the homestead), if a member of the family was speaking to the ancestors in the cattle kraal, he would be facing the great/ principal hut. When speaking *(thetha)* to the ancestors because of a sick person in the family, that sick person would be kept inside the great hut. This is because ancestors are believed to be staying in the great hut; that is why it is the important hut in the homestead. The second reason was to see people coming to it, as people were bound to use a designated entrance, rather than just entering it anywhere (which is considered very rude). The third reason was to show the importance and the status of wives, as their huts were arranged according to their status.

¹⁵Stuart (op cit) says that the word kraal is derived from the Dutch word ‘coraal’

One of the reasons why huts are no longer arranged in the way they used to, is because the majority of homesteads no longer have cattle kraals, and some people no longer build their homesteads on a sloping area, as this used to make it easier for the great hut to be on the top and the entrance (*isango*) to be at the bottom. Some informants said that they do not see any importance of arranging their homesteads in a traditional way.

Huts also were not built anyhow, there was a procedure that used to be followed. The first house to be built was the house of the headman's mother or that of the principal wife (*indlunkulu*). Msimang (1991:4) gives a detailed procedure that used to be followed when arranging huts. A Zulu homestead was traditionally arranged in a circular formation, on a shallow slope where the great hut (for the principal wife if the headman's mother was dead) (1) was located at the highest point facing the cattle kraal (2), which was usually located at the centre of the homestead, also facing the main entrance (3) to the homestead, see figure 2.5 and figure 2.6.

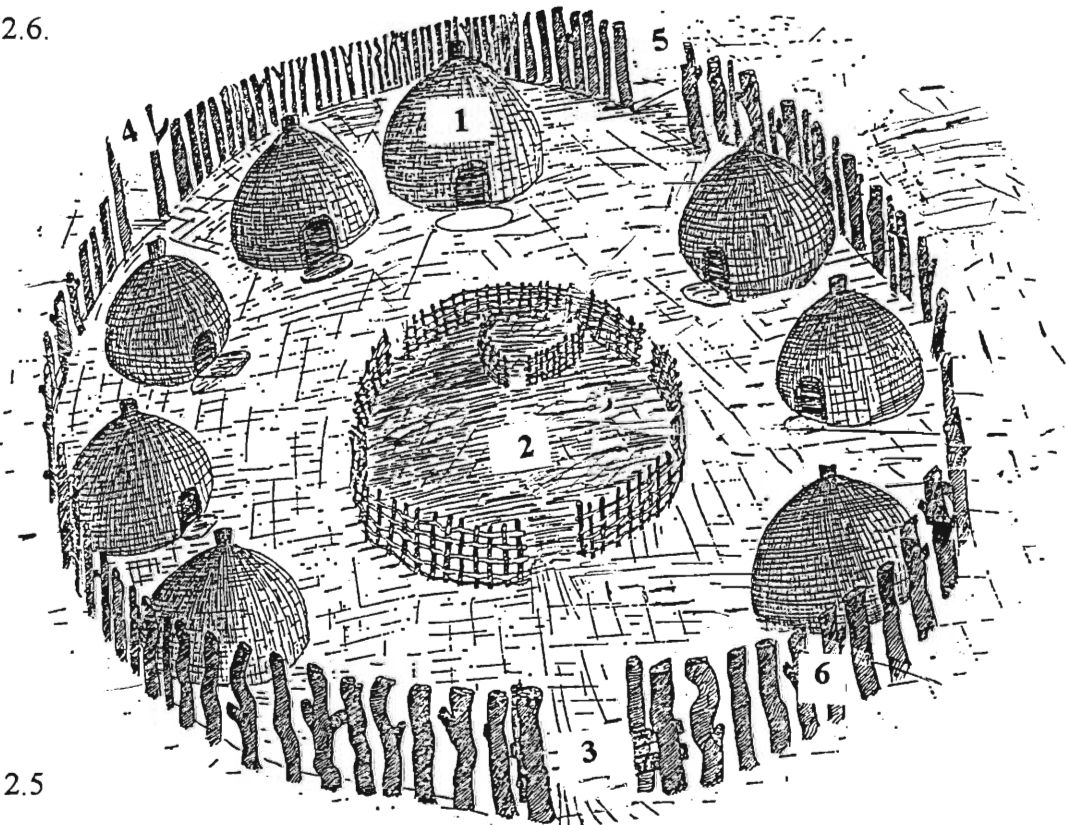


Figure 2.5
A Zulu homestead: adapted fromNyembezi S. and Nxumalo O.E.H. 1992 *Inqolobane yesizwe*, Shuter & Shooter Pty (Ltd), Pietermaritzburg.



Figure 2.6

The cattle kraal

Umsamo is at the far left hand side, under the trees.

Bryant (1967:76) describes this arrangement as:

“The outer kraal wall, then, stood circling round like a pair of embracing arms. But the two ‘hands’ of it did not meet. Between the approaching fingers, was left an open space or kraal¹⁶ entrance (*Sango*), three or four feet wide, for entry of men and beast.”

Due to the fact that some huts in Mabengela are no longer arranged in a traditional way, the cattle kraal in some of the homesteads is positioned randomly, not in its original place which is specifically the centre of the homestead. Traditionally, all the huts were built in such a way that they were facing the cattle kraal, i.e. their doors were facing the cattle kraal. Apart from the main entrances there were other entrances, one for the *iQadi* (the third wife) and the *indlunkulu* (the first wife) (4) section and the others situated next to the *iKhohlo*’s (the second

¹⁶The word ‘kraal’ has been used by Bryant (op cit) p76 to refer to the homestead.

wife) (5)¹⁷ hut for the use of this section of the homestead. These entrances were not used by just anyone, but they were privately used by the *undlunkulu*, *iQadi* and *iKhohlo*. Visitors to the homestead used to enter in the main entrance facing the great hut. When conducting field work, I did not come across any homestead that had the main entrance as well as that of *undlunkulu* and *iKhohlo*. In those houses that were fenced, there was only one entrance and with the others that were not fenced, people used any side of the homestead to enter, depending on which direction they were coming from.

After the homestead had been built and completed it was fenced around (6)¹⁸ to secure it. Traditionally it would never be left unfenced, as an unfenced homestead does not give it prestige and dignity, as people will enter anywhere they want to. Traditionally it was regarded as being very rude to enter it anywhere without using the main entrance. Depending on the headman of the homestead that is entered anywhere, he might ask the trespasser to leave while another headman might ask the intruder to exit through the way s/he entered and go and enter in the designated entrance. Culturally, people are supposed to respect the homestead and must not do as they wish, however important they are, even if a person knows that he is better than the headman of that homestead, because he used to beat him in stick fighting. The headman reserves the right to punish anyone who wanders about in his homestead without his permission. Bhambada, the main character in Zondi's "**Insumansumane**" justifies beating a white man who was chasing a boy and followed the boy even when he was inside his homestead by saying:

"Uyabazi abelungu baba, uma engene emzini womunye uyahlonipha azothe, uma engéna kowekhafula (asho akhafule) achachaze....Uma-ke ingane isibalekele ethongweni lamaZondi ingathintwa kanjani? Uthole akufunayo lomlungu..."

"You know white people father, if he enters other's homestead he respects, if he enters a kaffir's (spitting) he does as he wishes... if a child has ran to the Zondi ancestors how can he be touched? He got what he wanted this white man..."

It is very important for the homestead to be fenced. The reason for that is because from field experience, it was seen that it was easy to enter the homestead that was unfenced because it

¹⁷See figure 2.5 on page 39.

¹⁸See figure 2.5 on page 39.

was not secured as the fenced homestead is. One will just enter anywhere, whereas when entering a fenced one, at times one had to salute (*khuleka*) and males had to take their hats off before they enter. Another reason was that it is easy for cows to trespass in the homestead that is not fenced, and also for the witches to easily find their way into it. Apart from these reasons, as traditional Zulu villages were normally built in the bush veld, leaving a homestead unfenced was very dangerous and not safe as wild animals might find a way to enter and eat the cows.

Bryant (1967:75), stating the importance of fencing, refers to Jomela's homestead as:

“Jomela's Castle may not have been impregnable, but its outer wall served the purpose right enough of keeping the lions at bay and of providing a rampart not easily breached by hostile man without some risk.”

When fencing a house, different kinds of trees were used. The majority of people in Mabengela who fence their homesteads use wire fence instead of trees. It is not surprising that the majority of homesteads in Mabengela are not fenced, one of the reason for that is because people do not feel threatened by wild animals as they are fenced in the nearby game reserve and chances of them coming to the village are very slim.

2.5 The ancestors and the cattle kraal (Isibaya)

When one speaks about traditional Zulus, there is part of Zulu life that one will be doing injustice to, if she leaves it out and that part of life involves the ancestors who are referred to as “*amadlozi*, *amathongo*, *izithutha*” etc. Ancestors were considered very important by the Zulus and still are, although not all Zulus share the same belief nowadays. Krige (1950:67) says:

“It is said that to be without a share in the *amathongo* of the sib is the greatest calamity that a native can conceive, for such a man goes through life unprotected.”

People who believe in *amadlozi* believe that they are their guards and protectors. They have more power than those that are living, as they see almost everything that happens on earth. As much as ancestors protect their families, they also punish them. They then must be respected and be obeyed, as not doing so might result in misfortune. According to Krige (1950:284) the *amathongo* or *amadlozi* live underground and occupy the same relative position there as they did while alive. She continues saying that an unimportant man has little or no power after death; the head of the family, on the other hand, is the spirit that is invoked for help and that

provides for his descendants.

As much as homestead names represent the living, to a greater extent they also represent the dead, as most homestead names reflect the feelings and attitudes of the ancestors who named them when they were alive. It is therefore important to describe the cattle kraal and its function as it also represents the dead. The cattle kraal, apart from being a place where the cattle are kept, a cattle kraal is a sacred place where ancestors are said to be living or staying. As part of *hlonipha* of action¹⁹, wives do not enter the kraal under any circumstances although their daughters might. If they want cow-dung for smearing the floor, from the cattle kraal, they send either their sons or daughters to fetch it for them. One of the informants told me that when the wife punishes her children, if they get a chance to escape, they run to the cattle kraal and stay there because they know that their mother will not come to the cattle kraal and neither can she throw anything at them, if they are inside, as throwing stones at the children is also throwing stones at the ancestors and that shows disrespect for ancestors.

What was found to be amazing especially for someone like myself who has never stayed in a Zulu rural settlement is the belief and the respect that people have for their culture, tradition and their way of living. They know from experience that if a person does something that is against or disregards culture, tradition or way of living, something bad will happen to him or her and usually it does happen. With the experiences that informants related to me about people who disregarded the latter, it was clear how proverbs were coined and why. For example, I was told by the informants that before a father, whose son had cows, died, he chose one of his son's cows and said it must be slaughtered for him when he died and its skin must be put in his grave. When the father died the son did not want his cow to be slaughtered, his argument was 'How can my father want my favourite cow, when he himself did not have even one cow?' During the funeral the son was asked to lay the grass mat (*icansi*) so that his father's coffin would be placed on top of it. When he entered the grave he broke his leg, since then he has not been able to walk properly. People said his father was punishing him because he did not slaughter the cow for him. The above thus shows why the proverb '*Isala kutshelwa*

¹⁹*Hlonipha* of action refers to the behaviour carried by the wives to respect their in-laws, e.g. they are not allowed to enter their father-in-law's hut.

sibona ngomopho’ (The person who refuses to be told will see the bad consequences), was coined, so that people would listen when they are told something, knowing that if they do not listen, something bad will happen to them.

The place of the ancestors in the cattle kraal as well as in the hut is at the far end (*emsamo*), see figure 2.6., on page 41. This place is where the ancestors are believed to be staying. As mentioned before, not every homestead in Mabengela has a cattle kraal, one may then ask where the ancestors of those homesteads stay? Some informants told me that there is a place which stands for the cattle kraal in the homestead, if the cattle kraal is not there. They then use that place for the same functions that they were going to use the cattle kraal for. The principal hut (*indlu yangenhla/ indlunkulu*) is also a place where the ancestors are believed to be staying. In this hut too, the ancestors stay at the far end (*emsamo*) of the hut. Krige (1950:46) says:

“But though the umsamo of every hut is sacred, that of the chief hut of the kraal is especially important, for here all the offerings to the spirits are made, and here the important guardian spirits of the kraal abide.”

In this hut a married woman (*umakoti*) does not sit on the chair but sits on the grass mat, as sitting on the chair (*ukuqhwakela*) is seen as a disrespect to the elders. This is the hut where visitors are always welcomed. In traditional Zulu practice, people never used to talk and finish their conversations standing outside the hut, they were usually invited inside the principal hut to say what they were coming for.

The cattle kraal is very important as different functions are done in it. Bryant (1967:76-77) says that the cattle kraal was used as the family hall where dances and assemblies were occasionally held. When a girl was about to go to get married, and was about to leave her father’s homestead to go to her new family, she was usually taken to the cattle kraal where gall was poured on her head, face, arms and legs and her father or grandfather would then inform the ancestors that she was now leaving the homestead and going to another family where she would get her new surname and a new home. Krige (1950:135) says:

“The pouring of the gall over the bride in this manner is the means of informing the ancestors of the change that is about to take place, and very often, if there is an eloquent man present, he will tell the spirits (*amadlozi*) about the forthcoming marriage, stating what the *lobola* is and invoking their blessing on the girl, begging

them not to be hard on her for leaving them. It is however not necessary for anything to be said, the pouring of the gall is of quite sufficient significance for the ancestors. This is not a true sacrifice for no pieces of meat are set aside for the ancestors.”

The father or the grandfather of the daughter who is getting married, will then ask the ancestors to be with her. When she arrives at her new home, she also enters the cattle kraal for the first and the last time to be introduced to the ancestors of that family as another member of the family.

As mentioned before, the cattle kraal is also used for scolding to the ancestors (*ukuthetha amadlozi*). Zulus believed and the majority of people living in Mabengela still believe that if there is something wrong in the family, for example if members of the family are dying one after the other or if a member of the family is sick and has been sick for a long time, that is a sign that shows the anger of the ancestors, as they are supposed to protect the family. To remedy the situation, the person who is directly affected, i.e. if it is the whole family that is dying, the headman is the one who is directly affected, and he must communicate with the ancestors. If there are older members of the family, he must ask them to communicate with the ancestors on his behalf. If he knows the ancestors very well, he will have to speak to them, asking them to stop their anger. He also asks them why are they allowing what is happening in his homestead to happen. It is very important that the person who does this knows the ancestors, so that he can call them by name. If the head of the family does not know the ancestors, he will then ask the older member of the family to speak to the ancestors. If there is someone among the ancestors whom he thinks is the cause of what is happening, he can call him by name and speak directly to him.

Msimang (1991:20) says that if he (the person who is directly affected) wants sympathy, he will have to address the ancestor whom he knows was sympathetic to him when was alive. An informant said that one of the reasons why ancestors are sometimes referred to as “*izithutha*” is because their actions are sometimes ridiculous, for example when going to the diviners when someone is sick, the diviner might say that a goat or a cow might have to be slaughtered for ancestors, even though the family might not be having what they want at that time. Another reason is: ‘how can they let enemies kill the members of their families, when they are

supposed to be protecting the family’?

Amadlozi did not only reveal themselves in anger but also as the guards of the family. They also used to come to give advice to the living, by revealing themselves in dreams. Msimang (loc cit) says that the person who is dreaming used to see the ancestor as he was when alive, wearing familiar clothes, speaking to him as he used to when he was still alive. If the person who was dreaming was born after that person ‘*idlozi*’ was dead, he would explain his dream to his members of the family, those who knew the ancestor that visited him would then say who the ancestor was.

When the head of the family feels that he wants to change the homestead name and give it a new name, he does this by communicating to the ancestors. Whether the homestead was named by the ancestors or by himself, when he decides to change it, he must communicate with the ancestors, as they are the important members of the homestead. Some of the informants told me that failure to do so would result in the ancestors not looking after the homestead or result in their being angry and showing their anger through one of the homestead members. When communicating with the ancestors about the change of the homestead name, he must have a cow or goat to slaughter; informants refer to this as ‘*impahla*.’

The informants said that if it was a cow that would be slaughtered for communicating to the ancestors, it would be taken to the cattle kraal so that the ancestors would be shown it. If it was a goat, it would be taken to the principal hut where communication with the ancestors would be done. For some reasons, informants told me that a goat was never taken to the cattle kraal when communicating with the ancestors, but it would be taken to the principal hut. There are various reasons which make people want to change their homestead names, among them the common reason is that the behaviour of the members of the family which tends to follow the name or the circumstances prevailing in the family tends to follow the name.

In traditional Zulu settings, there are ritual occasions which are referred to as ‘*imisebenzi*’

where cows and or goats are slaughtered. In these occasions almost the whole community come together to eat and drink. The function of a cattle kraal is also evident on these occasions. Men use the cattle kraal for drinking and dancing ‘*ukugiya*’ after drinking. This is the symbol of saying ‘thank you’ for the food and the drink to the ancestors. A cattle kraal is thus a very important and sacred place among traditional Zulus.

2.6 Zulu kinship system

Kinship relationships among the Zulus are very important. It is very important because according to Zulu practices, people of the same sib or clan cannot marry each other. Krige (1950:23) says:

“As ideas of kinship and the family play an important part in Zulu society and ramify through almost every aspect of their culture, a description of their kinship system and the principles underlying it is a useful starting-point in any study of Zulu life.”

As Krige (1950:23-38) devoted a detailed and comprehensive chapter on Zulu kinship system, I have no intention of duplicating her work. The majority of families in Mabengela consist of the headman (*umninimuzi*), a couple of wives and daughters and sons of different ages. When looking at the kinship system, the main focus then will be on individual families, paying particular attention to the head of the family (*ubaba/umnumzane*), the wives and the children, the role they play in the family and the role they play in homestead naming. In the family each of the members ensures the smooth running of the family by doing a specific task assigned to him/her. Tasks are assigned to members of the family according to their age and sex.

2.7 The head of the family (Umunzane)

The headman is the head of the homestead, not the owner, as culturally the homestead is not his but the ancestor’s. He is therefore their living guard as he is supposed to look after it and make sure that everything in the homestead runs smoothly. Kubheka (1973:8) in his novel ‘*Kungavuka abaNguni*’ says:

“Wafundisa iminyaka emihlanu khona eClermont lapho wasecabanga ukuthi athathe, akhe umuzi akhele oyisemkhulu.”

“He taught for five years at Clermont and then thought of getting married and building a homestead for his ancestors.”

The above quote puts it clear that when a man, especially a Zulu man builds a homestead, he builds it for his ancestor. If things are not running smoothly in the family, he is the one to blame, to some extent he might even get punishment from the ancestors as he is not taking good care of their homestead. According to the informants and various writers of Zulu books, ancestors used to show themselves in various ways, e.g. in dreams, in the form of a snake, or by misfortunes in the family. One of the informants said that the disrespect of the ancestors might even lead to death in the family. She continued saying what is bad is that the misfortune in most cases happens to the child who is innocent rather than the head of the family, although he will be actively involved in trying to seek a cure for his child.

The head of the family is the most important and most respected member of the family. He is the guard and he makes all the decisions that are needed in the homestead. He is greatly respected whether alive or dead. When he makes decisions, no one in the family has the right to disagree with him, even if it is seen that the decision made is not favourable to some of the members of the homestead. Nevertheless he communicates with his wives before making a decision, but the decision is his and they cannot disagree with him. Thus when he communicates with his wives, he informs them about what he plans to do, not for them to come up with counter suggestions but to know what his intentions are. As a sign of respect no one talks when he is talking. Bryant (1967:412) says:

“The Zulu social organisation had its foundations in the person and rights of Paterfamilias (the family-father). Materfamilias (the family-mother) did not count in that system, any more than in that of the Romans. With its feet firmly planted at rock-bottom, upon the strong shoulders of paterfamilias, the whole Zulu family rested. He it was who built up the family and the family built up the clan.”

Msimang (1991:25) when describing the importance of the headman says:

“Uyahlonishwa nokho umnumzane lona. Uma kuhlatshwe imbuzi, izibindi zidliwa nguye. Uma yena engakadli, umndeni wonke awudli. Uma yena esevukile ekuseni bonke abantwana nesithembu makuvuke. Uma engakalali kusihlwa akekho noyedwa ongalala phandle kukanina noma-ke othile ongaphilile kahle.

“Nevertheless this headman is respected. If a goat has been slaughtered, he eats the livers. If he has not eaten, the whole family does not eat. If he is awake in the morning, all the children and his wives must be awake. If he is not asleep at night, there is not even one who can sleep except the mother or at least someone who is not feeling well.”

The headman is the voice of the family, when there is something to be said, he speaks on behalf of the family and when there are communal decisions to be made that will impact on the family, he makes them. Krige (1950:51) states that while he is the head, he is expected to consult the adult members of the homestead (the *ibandla*) on all homestead matters, and is therefore never an absolute ruler. Bryant (1967:442) describes the importance of the headman as:

“His word was law, his will supreme, his person sacrosanct. He was the creator of his children, the owner of his wives, king in his kraal, and living representative of the gods (his ancestors). Everybody and everything inside the kraal was his, and, within the recognised limits, he could do what he liked with them.”

Although the headman can stay in either of his wives hut, traditionally he used to have his own hut (*ilawu*) where he used to stay when not visiting one of his wives. Krige (1950:42) says:

“In aristocratic kraals²⁰ it was customary for the head of the kraal to have his private hut of ease just beside the *indlunkulu*, called *ilawu lomnumzane*.”

His hut was greatly respected not only by the children, but also by the wives as none of them used to enter without his consent or invitation. In order to satisfy all his wives and to minimise conflict in the homestead, the headman used to take turns to visit his wives or wives used to take turns to visit him. Krige (1950:47) says:

“When, however, there is a large number of wives and the different sections of the kraal are more isolated, only the *iKhohlwa* wives send him food if the man is sleeping in the hut on the *iKhohlwa* side, and when he is sleeping on the *inGqadi* side only that side sends him food, and so on. The *indlunkulu* hut is however regarded as the real home of the man. When he has been away and comes home, he will go straight to the *indlunkulu* hut and there he will have his meal.”

Although in some homesteads in Mabengela this is still the case, in other homesteads this is no longer the case as some headman stay in the great hut (hut of the chief wife) and go to other huts (those of *iKhohlo* and *iNqadi*) when it is their turn for him to visit them. It is very important that the headman satisfies all his wives, as not doing so causes conflict within the family. It is also true that the husband might not love all his wives in a similar way. In some cases he might love the third wife more because she is younger than the others, or he might

²⁰Like Bryant () (see page 40), Krige (1950:42) uses the word ‘kraal’ to refer to the homestead.

like the second wife more because she is a hard worker and she is neater than the other, but whatever the case may be, he must please all his wives to prevent dispute and conflict in the family.

Homestead naming has always been the task of the head. He is the one who gives the it a name, depending on the circumstances prevailing in the family at that time and on what is affecting him at that time. After he has named the homestead, none of the members of the family has the right to change the name, however embarrassing to them it might be. For example, if he names his homestead *kwaVamba* (place of carelessness) because his wives are careless and untidy, although this name might be an embarrassment to his wives, they cannot change it. It will be kept and be used by the coming generation. When the headman names his homestead, he communicates what he feels or what he aspires for. In some cases, the name might be an indirect response to a person he is having conflict with, be it some members of the clan or any member of the community, for example *kwaMuntungifunani* (place of what does a person want from me). Turner (1992:42) says that the name has a social function in working out stress situations, minimizing friction and providing a means of acceptance of indirect comment in a situation where direct confrontation or even accusation is unacceptable.

While the headman enjoys the respect that he gets from his family, he also has to enjoy a lot of responsibility that comes with it. Stuart (1913:30) says:

“The kraal²¹ owner determines where other wives are placed, however he is compelled to act in terms of rigid tribal practice.”

He is supposed to see to it that everything is running smoothly in the family. Should there be disputes or conflict, he is supposed to solve them and make sure that all the members of the family are satisfied. The head of the family can be held liable for debts incurred by the members of his family, e.g. if the cows eat other people's plantations or if his unmarried son impregnates a girl in the community, he is supposed to pay for those debts. The headman is supposed to make sure that every member of the family eats, by providing food for those huts whose wives are unable to, and he must protect them from illness. Krige (1950:52) says:

“Dependants in the kraal occupy a lowly position, but they are supplied with all their

²¹See page 40, like Bryant, Stuart (loc cit) uses the word kraal to refer to the homestead.

needs. Cows are given them to provide them with milk, and also vegetables, until their wives are able to provide them with these.”

He must also welcome visitors and talk to them. This however does not mean that in his absence visitors are not welcomed. It should be borne in mind that in rural Zululand, people do not have to make appointments to see one another as it happens in some urban areas.

Visitors do come in the absence of the headman. Turner (1992:45) agrees to this by saying:

“No formal invitations are issued in order to see one another or socialize. People are mostly at liberty to call-in on one another, and when an occasion arises such as a wedding, funeral or even a party to celebrate an event, it is a *fait accompli* that the neighbours are naturally invited to take part in the goings on.”

During his absence his mother (if not present, his great wife) welcomes the visitors. Unlike the headman’s mother, although wives do welcome visitors, in most cases they tell the visitors that the headman is not in the homestead, if there is something that they need, they must come back when he is around, giving the time and the day he will be at home. The headman’s mother on the other hand can talk to the visitors on behalf of her son. Should he be needed personally, visitors will then have to come when he is at home.

2.8 Polygamy and the wives

Polygamy (*isithembu*) has been a Zulu practice since before the white man came to Zululand and it still is in some of the Zululand areas especially Mabengela. Polygamy was very important in the old Zulu tradition. There are various reasons why it was important, one of those is that when a wife was pregnant and approaching time to deliver in Zulu culture, she was kept in the hut which was referred to as ‘*ixhiba*’. If she was in this hut, she never used to go to the fields, do household duties or even see her husband. She was kept inside the hut until some time after delivery, then she could do household duties. When she was in this hut the other wives took turns in looking after the homestead and the husband. Without the other wives, it was not possible for her to sit in the hut for months, with no one to cook for the husband.

Most people believed that the decline of polygamous families would lead to the decline of the nation, and that would make it easier for enemies to attack the nation. For a man to get a wife

he was (and still is in rural Zululand) supposed to pay *lobolo*²² (usually determined by the father of the girl) before he could get the woman he wanted. Ntuli (1982:27) states that *lobolo* is a consolation price to console parents who worked hard feeding and supporting the child they separate with when she goes to get married. He continues saying that Zulu culture makes it clear that a wife is not bought. A man who has more than one wife was greatly respected, as this was a sign of wealth, as paying a *lobolo* for all the wives was a daunting task especially for those who did not have enough cattle. In order for him to be able to pay *lobolo* he was supposed to have a lot of cattle which he could use for *lobola* and also use for feeding his family. Krige (1950:121) states that:

“There was before the codification of Zulu law no fixed amount of *lobola*, and when the husband’s people had no cattle they might even produce two or three stones, and their suits could not be refused on this account. It was however an honour to *lobola* with many cattle and therefore every man did all in his power to give as many cattle as he could. But the number of beasts given as *lobola* in the old days never was greater than four or five head of cattle according to all the old writers.”

Krige’s above statement seems partly correct. The reason why I say that is because she says that according to all the old writers *lobolo* in the old days was never greater than four or five head of cattle, whereas this statement is contrary to the quote below by Stuart (1913:31) who is one of the old writers (as he wrote before Krige) which says:

“For two and more generations it was customary for five, six and seven cattle to be so delivered (afterward restricted by the Natal government to a number not exceeding ten).”

The fact that he could afford *lobolo* for three or four wives and even more gained him respect from his associates and other members of the community.

Gcumisa (1991:54) says:

“Igama elithi isithembu livame ukusetshenziswa uma kukhulunywa ngabantu. Indoda enabafazi abangaphezu koyedwa kuthiwa inesithembu. Isithembu lesi kwakungumbuso wamadoda nesifazane. Yayihlonishwa indoda enesithembu. Kwakungafani nanamuhla laphe isiba inhlekisa yezinhlekebayeni. Ukuhlonishwa komnumzane kwakuya ngokuthi ufuye kangakanani imfuyo nesithembu. Noma engasenabo ochibidolo bemfuyo umnumzane, wayehlonishwa uma enesithembu.”

“The word polygamy is normally used when the conversation is about people. A man

²²*Lobolo* (noun) refers to the consolation price given by the groom’s family to the bride’s family, whereas *lobola* (verb) is an act of paying *lobolo*.

with more than one wife is said to be a polygamist. This polygamy was a reign of men and women. A polygamous man was respected. It was not like today where he has become a laughing stock to the laughers. The respect of a headman depended on how much stock and wives he had. Even if he did not have a lot of stock, a man was respected if he had more than one wife."

When a girl/young woman gets married to a young man, she leaves her family and its surname and becomes a member of her husband's family and gets a new surname, that of her husband. Although she gets a new surname she still uses her maiden name. Unlike in some urban areas where the maiden name is never used because if the wife marries Mr Shongwe and her maiden surname is Ngwenya, she becomes Mrs Shongwe. In most rural areas, if her maiden name was Mthimunya and her husband's surname is Nkosi, she will become MaMthimunya Nkosi. The keeping of maiden names by rural wives is justifiable, because if their husband's surname is Nkosi, all of them will be using Mrs Nkosi and it would not be easy to see which Mrs Nkosi one is referring to.

All wives, irrespective of whatever section of the homestead they belong to, who married the same man have the same surname. Their sons and daughters will use that same surname. Their daughters will only change or add to this surname when they get married. Krige (1950:34) mentions that the Zulu sib or *isibongo* is patrilineal, claiming descent from the common ancestor, very often not known. As a Zulu custom people use the sib from the father's homestead.

Female informants, unlike male informants were not outspoken and were not at ease to talk about homestead names. Gender roles²³ and *hlonipha* ritual played a part in making female informants withhold information. In Zululand, like in other places, male and females are socialised differently. The are roles which are mainly for men and those mainly for women. As wives were the ones that were normally at home, they sometimes refrained from talking about issues that were men's issues, that is to say: men are the ones that name the homestead. The status of wives in the family is not similar to that of the headman. They have been portrayed as not important, powerless and less respected in the family. Krige (1950:24) says:

²³Schaefer R.T & Lamn R.P. (1992:326) define gender roles as expectations regarding the proper behaviour, attitude and activities of males and females.

“The mother, *mama*, is shown less respect by the Zulu than the father, and he sometimes say what he likes to her. But she loves him,...

Although the above quote is true, wives were also respected and protected by their husband in the family. They are also loved by their children. If this was not the case, the saying which says ‘*Intandane enhle umakhothwa ngunina*’²⁴ would not have been part of Zulu proverbs, as proverbs were not just coined in Zulu tradition. It was through real experiences that idioms like the above were coined and they reflected the society at that time as people knew that when the person said it s/he meant something. Mutswario (1978:177) cited in Sibiya (1995:14) refers to proverbs as:

“This is the people’s soul without which the society would crumble and fall apart.”

Women are very important in the homestead for their sensitivity and the strength they have.

Ntuli (1982:25) says:

“Omame abayibo osomandla. Kodwa banawo amandla. Into nje awabo amandla bawasebenzisa ngezindlela zokudala, nokwakha nokulungisa....baphambuke bacoshe ixha lezinkuni; bakuthwale konke lokhu beze nakho ekhaya bezopheka ukudla kokondla osomandla namadodana abo. Nakho lokho kudla yibo omame abakuthwala ngamaqoma bazokupheka lapha ekhaya. Abanamandla njalo labobantu.”

“Women are not the all-almighty. But they do have power. The thing is that they use their power in the ways of creating, building and correcting... they deviate and pick up a lot of wood, they carry all that and come home with it to cook food to maintain their almighty and their sons. Anyway that food is carried by the women with grass woven baskets and they come home with it to cook. Those people then do not have power.”

The majority of families in Mabengela still practice polygamy, i.e. each homestead consists of a husband, two or three wives and their children. The status of these wives was not and is still not equally important in the homestead, nevertheless they are all very important in making the family run smoothly. The status of wives in Zulu tradition and in Mabengela is determined by the order in which they were married. In a polygamous family each wife has her own hut, not necessarily her own homestead, where she stays with her children. Each wife looks after her own family and provides for her own family, by cultivating her own crops and also if possible by generating her own income. She can generate her income in different ways, one of those

²⁴The good child is the one that is raised and groomed by the mother.

ways is by making clay pots or grass mats and selling them to the members of the community or to other communities. Each wife is allocated a garden by her husband which she can use for cultivating plants for her family.

Usually when the bride married in Zulu tradition, she was given a cow by her family, which she used in her new homestead for providing food for her children, e.g. milking. If this was not done, the husband used to provide cows for his wives that they can use to provide food for their children. Krige (1950:189) says:

“Every married woman besides having her own hut over which she is the mistress, and some cows allocated to her hut to supply her own needs and those of her children, has also her own *amasini*, or gardens, which she cultivates herself with the help of her daughters.”

Each wife has her own *inqolobane* where she stores her own food for her family. When conducting research I was told by the informants that the reason for not storing food in the same food storage (*inqolobane*) is so that the lazy wife will not be able to take the food that others have cultivated for their families. This shows that each wife is entirely independent of the others when it comes to providing for her family.

The status of wives in Mabengela is still regulated according to the order in which they were married. Msimang (1991:28) says that, the first wife is the chief wife (*uNdlunkulu*), the second wife (*iKhohlo*), the third wife (*iNqadi*), the fourth wife (*ibibi*), the fifth wife (*umakoti wasendlunkulu*) and the sixth wife (*ibibi*). All the *amabibi* are affiliated to the *iKhohlo*. In this chapter particular attention will be paid to the first, the second and the third wife, as is this is the average number of wives in Mabengela. In Zulu thought it is well known that the first wife becomes the chief wife, i.e. she is the most important of them all, and her hut inherits the husband's belongings after his death. Msimang (loc cit) says that before the law that was made by whites to govern the Zulus during the days of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the chief wife used to be the second wife. The reason why the chief wife used to be the second wife was that the first wife was regarded as not fit to take the position of the chief wife because she was taken when the headman was still young, the first wife's status was then disregarded as the husband was considered not grown enough to make wise decisions. This used to cause some disputes and confusion in the family because the first wife believed that she has been in

the family for longer than the second wife and knew more about the family than the second wife. To avoid these disputes and confusion, it was then decided that the first wife would be the chief wife.

2.8.1 The first wife (*uNdlunkulu*)

The chief wife occupies the *indlunkulu* hut if her husband's mother no longer lives. The first wife is referred to as *iNkosikazi* whereas the other wives are referred to as *omakoti*. At this stage it is important to make a distinction between *indlunkulu* and *undlunkulu* as these do not mean the same thing. *Indlunkulu* refers to the principal hut which is occupied by the headman's mother if she is still alive. If she is dead, this hut is occupied by the chief wife. The headman's mother by staying in this hut does not become *uNdlunkulu*. *UNdlunkulu* refers to the chief wife who was married first. As mentioned above, this wife may stay in the *indlunkulu*. The difference between the two lies entirely on their prefixes. *Indlunkulu* has an impersonal prefix of class 9 which is *iN-* whereas *uNdlunkulu* has a personal prefix of class 1a which is *u-*, in this case when forming a personal name, the prefix of class 1a *u-* is prefixed to the noun of class 9 (*indlunkulu*) with the elision of the first vowel which is *I-*. These two words consist of the same compound stem which is made up of the basic prefix of class 9 *-N-* noun stem *-dlu* (hut) and the adjective *-nkulu* (great/big/chief). *Indlunkulu* refers to the hut, whereas *uNdlunkulu* refers to the person, i.e the first wife.

If the headman's mother is still alive the great wife occupies her own hut on the right hand side of her mother in-law's hut. Although she may not be staying in the great hut (*indlunkulu*), she is still the chief wife. She is responsible for looking after the mother in-law and her hut. She is also responsible for cleaning, smearing (putting cow dung on the floor), cooking for her mother in-law. Bryant (1967:417) says:

“Usually, at the start, she was introduced into the royal maternal hut, there at the top of the kraal (if the chief's mother were still living), where the latter could keep an eagle-eye on all her ways and character, and instruct her as to duties and proprieties.”

As the most important wife in the homestead, apart from the above responsibilities, the chief wife has other responsibilities. Krige (1950:40) says:

“Upon the chief wife devolves the proper treatment and care of strangers. She must give them food and shelter, and so important is this duty that she may be ejected for

failing in it. Isaacs records an instance in which refreshment was refused him and his followers in a kraal, whereupon the travellers went straight into the *indlunkulu* hut²⁵ and simply took two calabashes of thick milk, for was it not the function of this hut to offer sustenance to travellers?"

The first born of the *uNdlunkulu* will be the heir in the family, he is the one who inherits the homestead and his father's belongings after his father's death. He, however may not inherit the belongings of the other wives in their huts if there is *iNkosana yakwabo* (the heir in his maternal hut) in that hut. The personal property of the kraal belongs to the *uNdlunkulu*.

Msimang (1991:29) says:

"Kumnandi ukuba iNkosikazi nokuba inqadi nokuba umakoti wasendlunkulu, okubi ukuba ikhohlo lokhu lona kalidli lutho lomnumzane ngaphandle kokwendlu yalo."

"It is nice to be the chief wife (undlunkulu) and to be the second chief wife (inqadi) and to be a wife of indlunkulu (according to Msimang, the fifth wife), what is bad is to be the second wife (ikhohlo) because she does not inherit anything of the headman except that of her own hut."

Although it is nice to be a chief wife, this does not in any way make her an exception in her actions and the way she behaves. As she is seen as the great mother of the homestead, she is supposed to be disciplined and she must also show respect not only to her husband but also to the other members of the family and strangers. According to Krige (1950:40) the chief wife's position in any settlement is then so important that if she fails in her duties she can no longer hold office. She can be ejected from her position for adultery too. She will then be given a hut next to the entrance or at the side of the homestead, and be left with only the necessities, while a new virgin is sought to take her place.

2.8.2 The second wife (ikhohlo/ ikhohlwa)

Different authors I have consulted use different names when referring to the second wife.

Krige (op cit) refers to her as *iKhohlwa*, Bryant (op cit) refers to her as *iKohlo* and Msimang (op cit) refers to her as *iKhohlo*. In this study the second wife will be referred to as *iKhohlo*.

The stem *-khohlo* means left- hand side, for example '*Hlala ngasekhohlo*' (sit on the left-hand

²⁵This shows the importance of the traditional arrangement of huts in a Zulu rural area, as the travellers knew the *indlunkulu* because of the arrangement of the homestead, showing the traditional location of the *indlunkulu*.

side). When this stem is used with the locative prefix e- (*eKhohlo*) it means a place and when it is used the noun prefix I- (*iKhohlo*) in this study it refers to the second wife. *IKhohlwa* is a noun derived from the verb *khohlwa* (to forget). One of the informants told me that the second wife was given this name because she is not that important in the homestead, as the first and the third wives are more important than her. She is therefore regarded as someone who is being forgotten that she exists in the homestead. The second wife does not inherit any of her husband's belongings except that which belongs to her hut.

The second wife, unlike the first wife, does not have much responsibility in the homestead as she is not of equal importance to the first wife. She is responsible for looking after her family as other wives are and also governing those that are attached to her hut, i.e. *amabibi*. Krige (1950:41) states that:

“This section of the kraal can never produce an heir, and has no part in the personal property of the head of the kraal, which pertains to the *indlunkulu*. The *iKhohlwa* heir inherits on his side of the kraal, and one of the wives attached to the *iKhohlwa* is very often appointed to be *inGqadi* of that section to supply an heir to the *iKhohlwa* in case of failure on the part of the real *iKhohlwa* hut.”

In Mabengela, some of homesteads with names given by the wives, are those from the *iKhohlo* section (especially those with sons) of the homestead. The reason for that is because, some of these wives because of knowing that neither them nor their children are going to inherit the property of the homestead, move out of the main homestead to build their own homesteads and name them themselves. Their sons will then be the heir in those homesteads and when they want to get married the mother will occupy the *indlunkulu* and the wives will have their own huts.

2.8.3 The third wife (iQadi)

Various spellings of the Zulu word for the third wife has been used by different authors. Among these spellings are: *iNqadi*, *iNgqadi* and *iQadi*. In this study, the name *iQadi* will be used. The third wife has more status than the *iKhohlo*. Should the first wife be unable give birth to the heir, the eldest son of the *iQadi* becomes the inheritor after his father's death. Bryant (1967:418) says:

“Should the Great wife bear no son, or should the latter be deformed, or prove

impotent, or die without a brother, then the right of succession will automatically pass on to the eldest male of this *iNqadi* hut.”

Krige (1950:40) states that:

“It seldom, however, happens that the *inGqadi* side inherits, because if the *inkosikazi* fails to give birth to the male, the husband usually remedies the deficiency by taking a new wife with the cattle belonging to the *indlunkulu* hut. This new wife then becomes the subordinate wife in the *indlunkulu* section. She will be placed in the chief hut until she has borne a son, when she is given some other hut in the *indlunkulu* section of the kraal. Her own son is looked upon as the actual son of the chief wife.”

The hut of the *iQadi* is situated on the right-hand side of the *indlunkulu* hut. Krige (op cit) says that since the *iQadi* side is considered as very close to the *indlunkulu* section it is usually referred to, not as the *iQadi* but as part of the *indlunkulu*, while the whole of the left side of the kraal is the *iKhohlo* side.

2.9 The children

2.9.1 Sons

As mentioned earlier, members of the homestead have separate duties assigned to them; this is clearly seen in the division of labour among the members of the family. In Zulu tradition household responsibilities are sexually divided. Boys have their own duties, and these duties must be done solely by them, the same applies to girls. To mention a few of those duties, they are responsible for looking after the headman's domestic animals. They are responsible for herding the cows, milking them and making sure that the cows eat where they are supposed to and are not trespassing in other people's fields. The boys are therefore the eye of the headman when it comes to looking after his stock. Msimang (1991:27) says:

“Naye umnumzane wethembele kakhulu emadodaneni akhe. Uma enecala nomakhelwane, uliqula namadodana akhe, abe izindlebe zakhe. Kanjalo nezikweletu zakhe zaziwa yiwo. Uma ezokwenza umsebenzi phakathi kwekhaya ubikela wona kuqala engakasitsheli isithembu.”

“Even the headman himself puts most of his trust to his sons. If he has a problem with his neighbours he decides it with his sons, they become his ears. Even his debts are known by them. If he is going to do a ritual at home, he informs them first before telling his wives.”

Boys are socialised differently from how girls are socialised. They must be strong and be able to face any battle that might come. Stick fighting among young men and boys is one of the

ways of ensuring that they grow strong. None of the boys want to be beaten and be laughed at by their peers. An informant told me that if a young man has been injured while doing stick fighting, he does not sue his opponent for beating him as this is seen as a sign of being coward and his suit will not be considered, as stick fighting is considered as a game which distinguishes boys from men. This however does not condone fights which have other motives except playing. When a boy or a young man has been beaten by something either than a stick with another motive except playing, he can sue the person who beat him. Boys are not supposed to cry, as crying is associated with femininity. This is one of the countless reasons that make them think that they are more important than girls. Ntuli (1982:24) in his anthology of essays says:

“Umlisa wakwaZulu wafundiswa esewumfana ukuthi yedelelekile imisebenzi eyenziwa abesifazane emakhaya. Ukhula esekholwa ukuthi umfana uyisidalwa esithe xaxa kunentombazana, ngoba yena usebenza endle alwe nabafana angaxabene ngalutho nabo, bamqeme ingozi kuqine ukhakhayi. Ohlala ekhaya angashaywa ekhanda uyinina.”

“A Zulu male was taught when he was a boy that household duties done by females are not important. He grows up believing that a boy is a creature who is more important than a girl, because he works in the wilderness, and fights with the boys he has no quarrel with, who will cut a wound on the mid-top of his head so that it will be strong.” If the head of the one who sits at home is beaten, he is a woman.

Traditional Zulu men never used to do household duties because they saw them as lowering their dignity and self esteem as men. Sigubhu, one of the characters in Zondi’s drama (1995:21) says; in ‘**Insumansumane**’(showing his disapproval of doing women’s work):

“... kanti sengiyoziphendula umfazi: ngibase umlilo, ngigeze amabhodwe, ngishaye endlini, ngisinde ngopholishi phansi.”

“...after all I was changing myself to a woman: I made the fire, I washed the pots, I swept the floor and smeared the floor with polish.”

Some derogative praises were given to a boy who never used to herd cows and do stick fighting with the boys as he was perceived as having feminine qualities.

Like their mothers, boys do not hold the same status, and they are not of equal importance in the family. The first born son of the chief wife, by right becomes the heir in the family and is called *iNkosana/ iNdlalifa*. Bryant (op cit) makes a distinction between *iNkosana yakwabo*

(the heir in his maternal hut) and *iNkosana kayise* (the heir of the father). *INkosana yawkabo* is the son from the *iKhohlo/iQadi* section, whereas *iNkosana kayise* is the son from the *indlunkulu* section. *INkosana kayise* is the most important of all the boys in the homestead. If he has grown enough his task would also be to be his father's representative during his father's absence. All disputes between the different huts of the family were reported to him, however he had no power of adjudication, his duty is to counsel the respective members of the family. This first born son of the chief wife inherits all his father's property after his death. Krige (1950:177) says:

“On the death of the father, house property is inherited by the eldest son of each house. In the event of the failure of a male “house” heir in any house other than the *indlunkulu*, the next to succeed is the eldest son of an affiliated house.”

It should be noted that he does not inherit the property from the other huts if there is a male *iNkosana yawkabo* (the heir of his maternal hut) in that hut. Bryant (1967:438) states that:

“The eldest surviving son of each hut became, in his own right, sole heir (*iNdlalifa*), after the father's death, to all such property as pertained to that particular hut (e.g. the bride price paid for his sisters, goods left by deceased brothers or sisters, and, believe it or not, even the person of his own mother, who could not re-marry without his consent - which he actually sometimes refused!).”

It should be stated that as the land does not belong to any individual person but the Chief or the King, the head of the homestead's property consists of his stock, clothes, weapons and other personal possessions. Krige (op cit) says that not only is the eldest son of the chief wife the chief heir and his father's successor, he also has an important position in religious matters. When this first born son inherits the latter, he is also supposed to look after the homestead and cannot change its name after his father's death. He is compelled by tradition to keep the name and pass it to his descendants.

In some homesteads when the head of the family dies, the wives from the *iKhohlo* and or *iQadi* section move out of the homestead to build their own homesteads. This however, does not mean that they are no longer members of that family, they still are and still use their husband's surname. The difference is that in these homesteads they live independently of the chief wife. In these homesteads, their sons name the homesteads, however if the wives do not have sons they name them themselves. Apart from the death of the headman there are

different reasons that make some of these wives move out of the main homestead. One of the informants said the reason why she moved out was because she knew that the heir after some time was going to get married and have his wives, and this was going to cause a lot of friction within the family, as having many family members within the same homestead does cause friction. Another reason she mentioned was that she wanted her son and his wives to be independent of the heir and his wives in their homestead.

The sons of other wives are heirs in their mother's hut only, i.e. they can only inherit what belongs to their mother's hut. Should the chief wife be unable to give birth to a son, the third wife's son will become the heir in the family, that is why he is called *uMna wenkosana* (the younger heir). Although this is part of Zulu culture which has been practised for as long as one can recall Zulu history, it leaves sore hearts when it happens. After the death of the headman, a son from the *iQadi* section might be made an heir in the family because a chief wife is not giving birth to the son who will be the heir in the family. This happened in one of the homesteads in Mabengela, when the headman died, the wife was a few months pregnant and no one noticed her pregnancy. A son from the *iQadi* section was therefore made the heir in the family. It was then discovered that the wife was pregnant but no one thought that she was going to give birth to the heir and wishes for her to give birth to a son were slim. The wife gave birth to the boy; and the reign by the son from the *iQadi* section was therefore short lived, this caused lots of friction in the family and sarcastic homestead name being coined i.e. *kwaMathunywa* (place of the one sent), referring to the son from the *iQadi* section who was sent to stay at the *iNdlunkulu*'s hut so that he would be the heir.

The sons from the *iKhohlo* section are not eligible to inherit any of their father's possessions as their mothers do not hold important status in the family. Although this has been a Zulu practice for a long time, some informants confirm that it causes disputes in the family as the boys from other sections of the homestead (excluding the *indlunkulu* section) tend not to like the first born because he is the heir in the family. One informant when asked what led to the homestead name *eMpumaze*, (place of leaving with nothing) told us that her husband was the first born from the *indlunkulu* hut and was disliked by his brothers, he decided to leave his father's homestead which he was supposed to be an heir to and built his own homestead. The

reason why he named it *eMpumaze* was because he was telling his brothers that he is living with nothing of his father's, he then does not deserve their dislike because he took nothing from his father's homestead.

2.9.2 Daughters

During the reign of the famous Zulu king, Shaka, a family without boys did not have much dignity in the community, to such an extent that the headman never used to feel good if all his wives were giving birth to girls. King Jama (the son of King Ndaba and the father of Senzangakhona) was not happy when his chief wife did not give birth to a son and the nation was also unhappy. The nation got more unhappy and angry when his wife who was pregnant gave birth to twins who were girls. The other reason that made the nation even more angry was that one of the twins (the older one) was not killed as was a practice (*ukwendisa*). This shows how unimportant girls were viewed in the family. The insignificance of girls is mostly seen in the royal families, more so than in the families of ordinary men in the community; this is because in royal families there is a great aspiration for a boy so that he can become his father's successor.

Usually when a wife in the family is expecting a child, the husband and the in-laws hope that the child will be a male. If a male is not born they get disappointed, in other cases they can even hate or not have good relations with the wife because she gives birth to females. Moyo (1996:16) says:

“Similarly a third daughter born to a polygamous family was named *Dinga* meaning ‘wish’. She was given this name by his father who has been expecting a son only to learn that his second wife has given birth yet to another girl. The father longed for the son as an heir.”

Moyo (loc cit) stressing the lesser importance of a daughter in the family says:

“For example, *Wongani*, meaning ‘be thankful’, was named by his maternal grandfather, imploring the patrilineal family to be grateful after the latter's family had complained that their daughter-in-law would not give them a son”.

It was almost every man's wish to have sons rather than daughters. Apart from a son being a heir, he is also the one who keeps the clan name (surname) alive after the death of his father. Fathers who were wealthy (had lots of stock) were always not at ease, because they used to

think that their wealth will be eaten by 'abafokazana'²⁶ who did not work for it. This is portrayed in one of Kubheka's novels, where his main character (Gumede) had daughters only and thought that his daughter was in love with a man who was nothing and knew nothing except sitting under the tree and smoking cigarettes bought by his daughter. Kubheka (1973:182) says:

"Wazibuka uGumede izinkomo zakhe. Wazibuka.... kwase kugcwele ekhanda lakhe ukuthi kufanele azichithe noma engasaziqedanga zonke kodwa aziphungule kakhulu impela. Wakubona kungumqondo omuhle ukuthi adle ifa lakhe esaphila, kunokuba alishiyele amantombazane azosala elimosa ngokusuke ayogana izinto ezingenamsebenzi, Phakathwayo²⁷ ngabe uyisilima ngempela uma engasebenza asebenze kanti usebenzela izimbungulu."

"Gumede looked at his cows. He looked at them... he was convinced that he was supposed to waste them even if he does not finish all of them but he really was supposed to reduce them. He saw that as a good thought to enjoy his will while still alive, than to leave it for the girls who will remain and misuse it by going to marry things that have no jobs. Phakathwayo! he must be very stupid if he can work and work mean time he is working for parasites."

Apart from showing how unimportant the girls are in the family, the above statement also shows how unsecured, headman who did not have sons used to feel.

Bryant (1967:438) says:

"Females, wives as well as their daughters, were by law always minors, and mere heritable chattels. They had no right to dispose at will of their own persons or powers, whatever their status or age; and while they were permitted to possess and bestow minor goods they could neither inherit nor bequeath".

All daughters in the family from different sections of the homestead hold more or less the same status: Whether the daughter is the first born from the *indlunkulu* hut or the first born from the *iQadi* side, this does not give her any importance above the others. She only gets status when she is appointed as *iqhikiza* (the adviser of her sisters). She is appointed if she is the first born in the family and has chosen her lover (*ukuqoma*), thereafter she will be assigned to look after her sisters and to give them advice about how to look after themselves. Msimang (1991:27) says:

²⁶This word was used to refer to poor men who had no stock.

²⁷Phakathwayo is a Gumede clan praise

“Enkulu phakathi komuzi ithi ingaqoma bese imiswa iba iqhikiza²⁸ lawodadewabo. Uma ingeyasendlunkulu isizokwaziwa ngokuthi inkosazana. Abafowabo bezindlu zonke bafunga yona ize yaziwe ngokuthi uMafungwase. Yiyona efundisa odadewabo ukuziphatha. Iyona ebajuba ekuqomeni iphinde ibafundise ngokuphathwa kwesoka. Intombazane ingenda iyapheza ukunquma izindaba zakwabo.... Empeleni negama elithi ‘ndodakazi’ selisetshenziswa ngomunye umqondo manje. Indodakazi isisho intombazane yasekhaya eseyenda kandi ingakendi ilo yaba intombazane njalo nje.”

“When the eldest in the family has chosen a lover, she is made the head of her sisters. If she is from the indlunkulu section she will be known as ‘inkosazana’. Her brothers from all huts swear by her until she is known as uMafungwase (the one who is sworn). She is the one who teaches her sisters how to take care of themselves. She is the one who orders them in selecting their lovers and she also teaches them how to look after their lovers. When the girl marries, she stops deciding her family matters.... In fact even the word ‘ndodakazi’ (daughter) is now used in another sense. Daughter now means the family girl who got married, whereas the one not married she is always a girl.”

One of the reasons why daughters are not important in the family is because they are not perceived as full members of the family, as at a certain time they will leave the homestead and marry. Getting married makes women not know where they really belong. The reason why I say this is because when conducting an interview, the majority when asked about the underlying reasons for the homestead, said they did not know because they found it there when they got married. The phrase that they were using was “*Singabokufika thina la asazi lutho*”(We are not from here, we do not know anything). Since they do not know about the aetiology of their husband’s homestead, it will then be assumed that they will give some explanation about the homestead names of where they came from. With regard to the latter they also do not know the reasons for a particular choice of that homestead name as they say homestead naming does not involve women, therefore they had no reason to ask what led to a particular choice of a homestead name, as this might be seen as a sign of disrespect by the family.

Like boys, girls have their own duties assigned to them. Those duties include cooking, fetching water, smearing the floor etc. As sons are their father’s eye, daughters are their mother’s hand. Girls are not in any way involved in house naming, however old they may be,

²⁸Doke and Vilakazi (1948:700) define ‘iqhikiza’ as a full grown girl, girl with fully developed breasts.

as mentioned above that if there is no male in the household, their mothers are responsible for naming the homestead.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter a rural Zulu homestead has been looked at. Particular attention has been paid to kinship system and social organisation. It was seen that division of labour according to sex plays a very important role in the organisation of the homestead. Members of the homestead have specific duties specially assigned to them. It is because of this division of labour and patrilineal culture that wives were not given any say when coming to homestead naming. Although in the majority of families the latter is still a practice, in other families wives are taking an initiative in naming their homesteads. For example, the homestead *eNkanini* (place of stubbornness) was named because when the headman died, one of his sons (not from the *indlunkulu* section) wanted to build his own homestead to live with his mother, independently of the others. He was told not to move out of the main homestead by her late husband's brother but because he was stubborn he went and built the homestead irrespective of what they said. He then named it *kwaNgakhangenkani* (place of building by force), the name was then shortened to *eNkanini*.

Although traditionally homestead naming has been male dominated, this practice is now taking a new phase as in some families (especially) which are not polygamous; both the headman and his wife decide on the homestead name and in other families some wives are naming their homesteads themselves. It will be interesting to find out in the next five years whether the initiative taken by wives in naming homesteads is increasing or not, if it is, also to find out what impact it has on the family, society and the ancestors.

3.1 Introduction

Place names can be divided into different categories. Homestead names are categorised as one of the categories of place names. A definition of a place name by UNGEGN (United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names) cited in van Huyssteen (1993:3) is:

“...a name applied to a geographical feature. In general, a geographical name is a proper name (specific term or expression) by which a particular geographical entity is, or was known. A geographical entity is any relatively permanent part of the natural or man-made landscape or seascape that has recognisable identity within a particular cultural context. A geographical name may then refer to any place, feature, or sea on the earth’s surface, or to a related group of similar places, features, or areas. (Orth 1987:10)”

This chapter explores the linguistic features of homestead names as one category of place names. Names analysed in this chapter are those names found in the research area (i.e. Mabengela). The main purpose of this chapter is to reveal the morphological structures of homestead names. Morphology is defined as the study of word building, the internal structure of words and rules by which words are formed. Crystal (1985:200) defines morphology as:

“The branch of grammar which studies the structure or form of words, primarily through the use of morpheme construct.”

Morphology can also be defined as the analysis of words into morphemes. Morphemes are the smallest meaningful units in a language.

When analysing homestead names it is justifiable to look firstly at the analysis of the structure of nouns as homestead names are mostly derived from nouns. Doke (1927:36) defines a noun as a word which signifies anything concrete or abstract”

Zulu nouns are made up of two parts, which are the prefix and the stem. A prefix is that part that tells us the class number of the noun referred to. It expresses a noun class and whether the noun is in a singular or plural form. For example:

Change in class:

Class 1 **umuntu** (a person) > class 6 **isintu** (human language, culture)

Class 9 **ingane** (a child) > class 14 **ubungane** (childhood)

Class 6 **isigebengu** (a thief) > class 14 **ubugebengu** (roguery)

Change in number and class

umfana (boy) > **abafana** (boys)

umuzi (house) > **imizi** (houses)

isitsha (dish) > **izitsha** (dishes)

Zulu prefixes can be divided into pre-prefixes and basic prefixes (except those in class 1a and 2a). Msomi (1991:20) calls the pre-prefix the determiner and the basic prefix the classifier.

Doke (1927:36) combines the first two formatives and calls them noun prefixes. Crystal (1992:143) defines a formative as:

“A formally identifiable, irreducible grammatical element which enters into the construction of a larger linguistic unit, such as the affixes -ing and -ed in English.”

In this study the noun prefix is broken down into pre-prefix and basic prefix, because in the formation of homestead names the pre-prefix is elided and the locative prefix is prefixed to the basic prefix and the noun stem, in nouns with monosyllabic prefixes (class 1a and 2a), the prefix is substituted by the locative prefix.

A stem is that part which is constant, it can be analysed into other constituent parts or simpler forms in complex and compound nouns. There are two types of noun stems: primitive and derived stems. Primitive stems are those that cannot be reduced into simpler forms and show no origin in any other part of speech. For example:

Monosyllabic stems:

-f > **ukufa** (death)

-thi > **umuthi** (medicine)

-dlu > **indlu** (house)

Disyllabic stems:

-qaba < **inqaba** (fort)

-doda > **indoda** (man)

-lomo > **umlomo** (mouth)

Polysyllabic stems:

-nambuzane > isinambuzane (insect)

-khabethe > ikhabethe (cupboard)

-tandane > intandane (orphan)

Derived stems are those that are derived from other parts of speech or from simpler noun stems by addition of a suffix. The majority of homestead names to be discussed in this chapter are derived from different parts of speech. Msomi (1991:22) defines derived stems as:

“These nouns²⁹ as the name suggests are derived from other parts of speech, or from other languages in which case they are known as adoptives (if the stem has been Zuluised) or borrowings (if only the Zulu prefix has been affixed to the foreign stem).”

Zulu nouns can be derived from different parts of speech. The following are examples:

Examples of nouns derived from nouns:

ikhehla (an old man) > **uKhehla**³⁰ (a personal name, usually a boy's name)

isiwula (a stupid person) > **ubuwwula** (an act of being stupid)

Examples of nouns derived from verbs

bheka (look) > **umbheki** (guard)

cela (ask) > **isicelo** (a plea)

khohlisa (lie) > **umkhohlisi** (a liar)

3.2 Nouns and names

Before one analyses names, it would be appropriate to make a distinction between common nouns and names in Zulu. The difference between common nouns and names in Zulu, lies in their structure. Firstly it should be noted that unlike personal names which are nouns of class 1a²⁸, homestead names do not belong to a noun class, but do belong to a word class which is

²⁹I think she wanted to say ‘these stems’ instead of ‘these nouns’

³⁰uKhehla is a personal name derived from class 5 which belongs to class 1a.

²⁸Koopman A., 1976

locative adverb.

Homestead names are derived from different parts of speech. They can be derived from nouns, verbs, adjectives, relatives etc. According to my data most names are derived from verbs. This will be discussed later in this chapter. When forming locatives, the locative prefix *kwa-* is prefixed to the nouns of class 1a. For example, from the noun *uVimba* which is derived from the verb *vimba* (block), the prefix *u-* of class 1a has been deleted and the locative prefix *kwa-* has been prefixed to the noun stem which gives us the homestead name *kwaVimba*. When forming locatives, the normal locative prefix *e-* (prefixed to nouns of classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15 and the variant *o-* (prefix to nouns of classes 11 only) is prefixed to the original noun with the elision of the first vowel of the noun (pre-prefix) and the locative suffix *-ini*, is suffixed to the noun stem.²⁹ The basic prefix then becomes the primary prefix and the locative prefix becomes the secondary prefix, showing that the noun is no longer a noun but a locative as it is in secondary function expressing a toponym. Some nouns form their locatives by change of initial vowel only, with no suffixal inflection taking place. Homestead names may be derived from different noun classes. For example:

Locative		Noun	
eMahlayizeni	>	amahlayiza	class 6:
eMalini	>	imali	class 9:
oZalweni	>	uzalo	class 11:
eZangomeni	>	izangoma	class 8:
eNakazi	>	inakazi	class 5:
eBugabazini	>	ubugabazi	class 14:
eZintandaneni	>	izintandane	class 10:
eMlenzeni	>	umlenze	class 3:
eMandleni	>	amandla	class 6:

²⁹This is not always the case as some nouns take the locative prefix only, e.g. eNgxangiphilile can never be *eNgxangiphilileni, as it is a compound noun it does not take a locative suffix.

The locative suffix **-ini** has the phonological realisations **-eni**, **-ini**, **-weni**, and **-wini**. There are three important rules which have to be followed to derive these phonological realisations in Zulu, please refer to the vowel chart below.

Rule 1:

When a non high vowel is followed by the high vowel, the high vowel falls one place on the vowel chart. For example:

ukuzama + -ini < eKuzam**eni**

Izangoma + -ini < eZangom**eni**

Rule 2:

When a rounded vowel precedes a non rounded vowel, then the rounded vowel becomes \w\.

For example: imbangiso + -ini < eMbangis**weni**

impangiso + -ini < eMpangis**weni**

Rule 3:

When two vowels come together (are in juxtaposition), the first one is deleted. For example:

imali + -ini < eMal**ini**

ubugabazi + -ini < eBugabaz**ini**

Vowel chart

Homestead names can also be derived from nouns derived from simple verbs. For example:

Verb		Noun		Locative/Homestead name
bangisa	>	umbangisi	>	eMbangisweni
phela	>	iphela	>	kwaPhela
khululeka	>	inkululeko	>	eNkululekweni
zama	>	ukuzama	>	eKuzameni
busa	>	umbuso	>	eMbusweni
jabula	>	injabula	>	kwaJabula/ eNjabulweni
thula	>	ukuthula	>	eKuthuleni
nuka	>	ukunuka	>	kwaNuka

The locative prefix *kwa-*³⁰ which consists of the formative *ku-* plus the + possessive formative *-a-* is prefixed to the original noun in classes 1a, 2a,1 and 2 with the elision of the first vowel.

The formative *ku-* originally was a class 17 noun prefix. Doke (1927:62-63) says:

“This class (Ur-Bantu class17) is represented by very few nouns in Zulu, the significance of which is of place (locative), time or indefinite material. A short prefix of this class *ku-* is used adverbially as a pre-prefix forming locative adverbs from nouns of class 1 and from pronouns e.g.:

kumuntu (to the person)
kubaba (to my father)”

The concords of the above class are used when forming the locative prefix *kwa-* and when the locative is the subject or object of the sentence e.g.

EMthandazweni *kuhlala* kushisa.
(In the place of prayer it is always hot.)

Examples of homestead names with the locative prefix *kwa-*

Locative		Vowel elided
KwaMuntungifunani	>	u- (final vowel of ‘muntu’)

³⁰Doke (1927:116) calls it the locative possessive concord. Ngobese M.J. (1991) calls this a pre-prefix. In this study it will be called the locative prefix bearing in mind Crystal’s definition of a prefix.

In the above example ‘**kwaMuntungifunani**’ ‘what does a person want from me?’, the initial vowel **u-** has been elided and the locative prefix has been prefixed to **-mu-** which has become part of the stem. This locative prefix **kwa-** does not take a locative suffixes. Nouns with monosyllabic prefixes (those of classes 1a and 2a) lose their prefix completely. For example:

Locative		Noun	Vowel replaced
kwaZibhebhu	<	uZibhebhu,	u-
kwaBhekokuhle	<	uBhekokuhle ³¹	u-

Here the prefix **u-** of class 1a has been substituted with the locative prefix **kwa-**. The locative prefix **kwa-** characterises homestead names as adverbs of place.

As words, names can be divided into smaller meaningful units called morphemes. Names consist of two types of morphemes, which are grammatical morphemes (prefixes and suffixes) and lexical (roots and stems) morphemes. Lexical morphemes have real world meaning, they are listed in the lexicon and are grouped together into word classes, e.g. nouns and verbs. Grammatical morphemes are added to lexical morphemes to form complete words. These morphemes comprise affixes (prefixes and suffixes³²). Like nouns, names can be divided into different morphological structures. There are those with simple stem, those with complex stem, those with compound stem and those with duplicated stem.

3.3 Homestead names with simple stems

Names with simple stems are those whose stems consist of only one lexical morpheme. Their stems cannot be broken down into other constituent parts. The majority of homestead names with simple stems take the locative prefix **kwa-**; as mentioned earlier the prefix **u-** of class 1a has been substituted with the locative prefix **kwa-** in the homestead names below. Although

³¹uBhekokuhle can also be a personal name, therefore one can deduce that homestead names may be derived from personal names.

³²Chirwa (1993:32) describes these as the representation of a verb in moods, the tenses, positive and negative and aspect.

homestead names with simple stems can take the locative prefix *e-*, they do not take the locative suffix *-ini/-eni*. In these names the designatum and the denotatum³³ do not correspond as these names are derived from already existing nouns.

Examples:

KwaNqodo (place of refusal)

Locative prefix: kwa-
Noun stem: -nqodo

KwaVimba (place of deterring)

Locative prefix: kwa-
Noun stem: -vimba

KwaNqaba (at the fort)

Locative prefix: kwa-
Noun stem: -nqaba

KwaZibhebhu (at Zibhebhu's)

Locative prefix: kwa-
Noun stem: -Zibhebhu

KwaNhlangano (place of meeting)

Locative prefix: kwa-
Noun stem: -nhlangano

KwaPhehla (place of stirring)

Locative prefix: kwa-
Noun stem: -phehla

³³These terms are taken from Sørensen, H.S., 1963: **The meaning of proper names**, Copenhagen. Cited in Raper 1987.

KwaVamba (place of carelessness)

Locative prefix: kwa-

Noun stem: -vamba

KwaNgendla (place of destruction)

Locative prefix: kwa-

Noun stem: -ngendla

ENtanda (place of liking)

Locative prefix: e-

Class 9 basic prefix: -N-

Noun stem: -tanda

ENDulo (place of ancient times)

Locative prefix: e-

Class 9 basic prefix: -N-

Noun stem: -dulo

KwaDunusa (place of turning buttocks)

Locative prefix: kwa-

Noun stem: -dunusa

KwaNuka (place of smell)

Locative prefix: kwa-

Noun stem: -nuka

KwaJabula (place of happiness)

Locative prefix: kwa-

Noun stem: -jabula

\KwaYingaza (place of embarrassing)

Locative prefix: **kwa-**
Noun stem: **-yingaza**

KwaChaya (place of shredding)

Locative prefix : **kwa-**
Noun stem: **-chaya**

ENdina (place of nagging)

Locative prefix: **e-**
Class 9 basic prefix: **-N-**
Noun stem: **-dina**

3.4 **Homestead names with complex stems**

Names with complex stems are those names whose stems consists of more than one morpheme, one lexical morpheme and one or more grammatical morphemes. Complex stems can be broken down into further constituent parts. The names below are derived from nouns of different classes with simple stems, and therefore consist of a noun stem and a locative prefix *e-* or *o-* and locative suffix *-ini*, *-wini*, *-weni* or *-eni* except the name **kwaMathunywa** (place of the one who is always sent). For example:

EMpangisweni (place of rushing)

Locative prefix: **e-**
Complex stem: class 3 basic prefix **-m-** + noun stem **-pangiso** + locative suffix **-ini**.

EMbangisweni (place of dispute)

Locative prefix: **e-**
Complex stem: class 3 basic prefix **-m-** + noun stem **-bangiso** + locative suffix: **-ini**.

EMlonyeni³⁴ (at the mouth)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 3 basic prefix -m- + noun stem -lomo + locative suffix -ini.

ENkululekweni (place of freedom)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 9 basic prefix -N- + noun stem -kululeko- + locative suffix -ini.

ENkanyezini (at the star)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 9 basic prefix -N- + noun stem -kanyezi + locative suffix -ini.

OQotsheni (place of exactly)

Locative prefix: o-

Complex stem: noun stem: -qobo + locative suffix -ini.

ENkohliseni (place of lies)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 9 basic prefix -N- + verb root: -kohliso + locative suffix -ini.

EMandleni (place of power)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 6 basic prefix -ma- + noun stem: -ndla + locative suffix: -ini.

EKuphumuleni (place of rest)

Locative prefix: e-

³⁴Bilabial consonants in Zulu may not be followed by a semi-vowel, if they do palatalisation takes place and bilabial consonants give place to a corresponding pre-palatal sound e.g. uqobo < oQotsheni, umlomo < eMlonyeni

Complex stem: class 15 basic prefix -ku- + noun stem -phumula- + locative suffix -ini.

EZangomeni (place of diviners)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 8 basic prefix -z- + noun stem: -angoma- + locative suffix -ini.

EMbusweni (place of ruling)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 3 basic prefix -m- + noun stem -buso + locative suffix -ini.

ENhlanhleni (place of luck)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 9 basic prefix -N- + noun stem: -hlanhla- + locative suffix -ini.

EZintandaneni (place of orphans)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 10 basic prefix -ziN- + noun stem -tandane- + locative suffix -ini.

EKuqineni (place of having strength/ firmness)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 15 basic prefix -ku- + noun stem -qina + locative suffix -ini.

EGugwini (place of treasure)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: noun stem: -gugu- + locative suffix -ini.

ENjabulweni (place of joy)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 9 basic prefix -N- + noun stem -jabulo + locative suffix -ini.

EZabeni (place of struggle)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 8 basic prefix -z- + verb root: -aba + locative suffix -ini

EMalini (place of money)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 9 basic prefix -N- + noun stem: -mali- + locative suffix -ini.

ENtokozweni (place of happiness)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 9 basic prefix -N- + noun stem: -tokozo + locative suffix -ini.

OZalweni (place of common descendants)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: noun stem: -zalo + locative suffix -ini.

ETengeni (place of orphan)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: noun stem -tenga- + locative suffix -ini.

KwaMa³⁵thunywa (place of the one who is always sent)

Locative prefix: kwa-

Complex stem: formative -ma- + noun stem -thunywa

ESimangeni (place of weird occurrence)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 7 basic prefix -si- + noun stem: -manga- + locative suffix -ini.

EEukhanyeni (place of light)

Locative prefix: e-

³⁵The formative *ma-* refers to habitual behaviour of (in this case being sent).

Complex stem: class 15 basic prefix -ku- + noun stem -khanya + locative suffix -ini.

EKuzameni (place of trying)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 15 basic prefix -ku- + noun stem -zama + locative suffix -ini.

ENkanini (place of stubbornness)

Locative prefix: e-

Complex stem: class 9 basic prefix N- + noun stem -kani + locative suffix -ini.

3.5 Homestead names with compound stems

Compound stems are those stems that consist of more than one lexical morpheme and there may also be affixes. In the above examples names derived from nouns and verbs were dealt with. Names can be derived from other parts of speech apart from nouns. The majority of homestead names analysed in this dissertation are derived from verbs compounded with nouns or vice versa, and from verbs compounded with other parts of speech. For example, the name **kwaThelamanzi** (pour water), < **thela** (pour) + **amanzi** (water) is a compound because both **thela** and **amanzi** can stand on their own. Koopman (1983:299) says that compound nouns take a locative prefix only, e.g. **Amanzimtoti** or **eManzimtoti**, but never 'eManzimtotini'. The 'river where young man wash' (**hlamba** + **amasoka**) may be **iNhlambamasoka** or **eNhlambamasoka** but never ***eNhlambamasokeni**, unless the second half of the compound is already a locative noun, as in **eHlalamatsheni** over the page.

He further says that a locative suffix is however, possible in the first element of the compound, although such examples are rare e.g. **eNtabenebomvu** < **eNtabeni** + **ebomvu** (on the mountain which is red). Referring to the research data, there is only one compound noun with a locative prefix *e-* i.e. **iNdluyamandla** > **eNdluyamandla**, but can never be ***eNdluyamandleni**. In my study there is no homestead name that has a locative suffix in its first element, that does not mean that there are no homestead names with this structure.

As was mentioned in the introduction, the only scholar I have come across who has looked at

homestead names is D.B. Ntuli³⁶. In his data collected from the districts of Umbumbulu, Inanda, Eshowe, Inkandla and Dundee, of about one hundred and thirty homestead names, only three compound nouns take the locative prefix *e-*. Those are:

umhambuma > eMhambuma

compound stem: class 3 prefix um(u)-
 verb root: -hamb-
 subject concord: -u-
 verb: -ma.

Ihlalamatsheni > eHlalamatsheni

compound stem: class 5 prefix i(li)-
 verb root: -hlal-
 class 6 prefix: -ama-
 noun stem: -tshe-
 locative suffix -eni.

Umusawenkosi > eMseniwenkosi

compound stem: class 3 prefix um(u)- +
 noun stem: -sa +
 locative suffix: -eni +
 possessive concord: -wa- +
 class 9 prefix: -iN- +
 noun stem: -kosi.

The above name also has the locative suffix in its first element of the compound. Looking at the above examples one can therefore deduce that compound nouns which take the locative prefix *e-* are very rare when forming homestead names. The cause of this might be because homestead names are usually attributed to personal names as they also use the locative prefix *kwa-* e.g *kwaMbali* which means ‘at Mbali’s place’. Koopman (1983:301) says:

“*Kwa-* or *ka-* normally indicate a person’s name, but sometimes this prefix may be added to a descriptive term, as in *kwaThwalitshe* (the place of carrying stone).”

³⁶ Ntuli, 1992a and 1992b, please refer to the bibliography.

Doke (1927:239) says:

“Kraals are often named after chiefs or their owners by prefixing locative possessive *kwa-* thus indicates “to, from, at, in the residence or property of”, the verb or context giving the exact shade of locative significance. The initial vowel of the noun is elided when *kwa-* is prefixed.”

Msomi (1989:17) says:

“The locative possessive prefix *kwa-* is restricted to personal names and a few place names.”

When two words combine to form a new compound word, the problem of two adjacent vowels often occurs. Zulu language does not allow vowels to follow each other, therefore when this occurs in the formation of compound words, there are three ways to overcome it:

i) **Vowel coalescence**: a process which takes place when a low Zulu vowel *a* is followed by *i* or *u* which are high vowels then the intermediate vowels *e* or *o* occurs.

For example:

wa + izingane > wezingane

wa + umlungu > womlungu

ii) **Intervocalic consonants or semivowels**: when vowels *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o* are followed by the vowel *a* the result is a semi-vowel *y* or *w* e.g.

Ingane *iami* > ingane *yami*

Ozaloeni > uzal*weni*

iii) **Vowel deletion**: when compound words or names are formed we delete either the final vowel of the first element or the first vowel of the second element.

Koopman (1984:99) says:

“Zulu compound nouns elide one of the adjacent vowels, *either* the final vowel of the first element, as in the personal name *uVusumuzi* (< *vusa* ‘awake’ + *umuzi* ‘kraal’); or the first vowel of the second element, as in the aloe called *umhlabandlanzi* (< *um-* + *hlaba* ‘stab, prick’ + *indlanzi* ‘mouse bird’). The first I have called ‘phonological deletion’ -the normal deletion of final vowel in Zulu speech, within a syntactic compound, as in *bonk’abant’abahle* < *bonke abantu abahle* (all the good people). Deletion of the first vowel of the second element I have called morphological deletion because in this case it is always a morpheme that is deleted, found in the number of instances in Zulu, for example in the object after certain negatives:

ngibona umuntu (I see a person) > angiboni muntu (I see no one).”

Compound nouns can be divided into different categories. Those categories are (verb + other

parts of speech) and (noun + other parts of speech). A significant number of homestead names in this study are those compound names that consist of verb + other parts of speech, for example: verb + substantive and verb + qualificative. There are also names that consists of substantive + other part of speech, e.g. substantive + verb.

3.5.1 Verb + Substantive

As was mentioned earlier, compound nouns in this category are those that are formed with the prefix *kwa-*. Compound nouns are made up of different morphemes and those morphemes will be shown below. Compound names below are class 1a nouns, i.e. class 1a prefix *u-* has been substituted with the locative prefix *kwa-*

KwaBhekinkosana (Place of looking at the first born son)

The above name is formed from the verb ‘bheka’ (look) and the noun ‘inkosana’ (first born son). It consists of the following morphemes:

- Locative prefix: kwa-
- Verb root: -bhek-
- Conjugational suffix: -a-
- Class 9 prefix: -iN-
- Noun Stem: kosi-
- Diminutive suffix: -ana

KwaCelimpilo (place of asking for health)

This name is formed from the verb ‘cela’ (ask) and the noun ‘impilo’ (health). Its morphemes are:

- Locative prefix: kwa-
- Verb root: -cel-
- Conjugational suffix: -a-
- Class 9 prefix: -iN-
- Noun stem: -pilo

KwaPhumuzumlomo (place of letting the mouth rest)

This name is formed from the verb ‘phumuza’ (to rest) and the noun ‘umlomo’ (mouth). It has the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-phumuz-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Class 3 prefix:	-um(u)-
Noun stem	-lomo-

KwaThelamanzi (place of pouring water)

The above name is formed from the verb ‘thela (pour) and the noun ‘amanzi’ (water). It can be divided into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:em:	-thel-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Class 6 prefix:	-ama-
Noun stem:	-nzi

KwaVulamehlo (place of opening eyes)

This name consists of the verb ‘vula’ (open) and the noun ‘amehlo’ (eyes). It consists of the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-vul-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Class 6 prefix:	-ame-
Noun stem:	-hlo

KwaSithindoda³⁷ (place of hiding a man)

This compound name is made up of a verb ‘sitha’ (hide) and the noun ‘indoda’ (a man). It

³⁷This word has two different meanings, the first meaning is the one given above where it is assumed that the compound is the verb *-sitha* ‘hide’ + *indoda* ‘a man’, phonological deletion took place and the compound name *KwaSithindoda* occurred. The second one is that the name means “we say it’s a man”, consisting of *sithi* ‘we say’ + *indoda* ‘a man’. Nonetheless both names delete phonologically.

consists of the morphemes below:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-sith-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Class 9 prefix:	-iN-
Noun stem:	-doda.

KwaBhekingane (Place of looking after the child)

The above name is compounded by the verb 'bheka' (look) and the noun 'ingane' (child). It is made up of the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bhek-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Class 9 prefix:	-iN-
Noun stem:	-gane.

KwaBhekimpilo (place of looking for health)

This compound name consists of a verb 'bheka' (look)" and the noun 'impilo' (health). It consists of the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bhek-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Class 9 prefix:	-iN-
Noun stem:	-pilo.

KwaGibingwenya (place of trapping the crocodile)

This compound name is made up of a verb 'giba' (trap) and the noun 'ingwenya' (crocodile).

It consists of the following constituents:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-gib-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-

Class 9 prefix: -iN-
Noun stem: -gwenya.

KwaBhekimpahla (place of looking after the belongings)

The above name is compounded by the verb 'bheka' (look) and the noun 'impahla' (belongings). It has the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: kwa-
Verb root: -bhek-
Conjugational suffix: -a-
Class 9 prefix: -iN-
Noun stem: -pahla.

KwaVikinkulumo (place of warding off speech)

The above name consists of a verb 'vika' (ward off) and the noun 'inkulumo' (speech). It is made up of the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: kwa-
Verb root: -vik-
Conjugational suffix: -a-
Class 9 prefix: -iN-
Noun stem: -kulumo

KwaVikamazwi (place of warding off words)

This compound has a verb 'vika' (ward off) and the noun 'amazwi' (words). It can be broken down into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: kwa-
Verb root: -vik-

Conjugational suffix: -a-
Class 6 prefix: -ama-
Noun stem: -zwi

KwaBhekithemba (place of looking for hope)

This compound name is made up of a verb 'bheka' (look) and the noun 'ithemba' (hope). It can be broken down into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bhek-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Class 5 prefix:	-i(li)-
Noun stem:	-themba

KwaBhekuklulu³⁸ (place of looking after the descendants)

The above compound name consists of the verb 'bheka' (look) and the noun 'uklulu' (descendants). It consists of the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bhek-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Class 11 pre-prefix:	-u-
Noun stem:	-klulu

In the above names, phonological deletion takes place, because the last vowel of the first word is deleted. Unlike other place names, of which Koopman says delete phonologically or morphologically, these homestead names delete phonologically only, as personal names do. The conjugational suffix *a-* in the above examples has been deleted. The reason may be because they use the adverbial prefix *ku-* which is normally used with personal nouns of class 1a, class 2a, class 1 and class 2. Doke (1927:63) says:

“A short prefix of this class *ku-* is used adverbially as a pre-prefix forming locative adverbs from nouns of class 1 and from pronouns e.g.

Kumuntu (to the person)

Kubaba (to my father).”

3.5.2 Verb + Qualificative

KwaDelowaziyo (place of satisfaction for the one who knows)

³⁸ According to the informant uklulu means a large family.

This compound name consists of the verb ‘dela’ (be satisfied) and the relative ‘owaziyo’ (the one who knows). This name consists of the following morphemes:

- Locative prefix: kwa-
- Verb root: -del-
- Conjugational suffix: -a-
- Relative concord: -o-
- Intervocalic glide -w-
- Verb root: -azi
- Relative suffix: -yo

KwaKhulumokuthandayo (place of saying what you like)

This compound name consists of the verb ‘khuluma’ (say / talk) and the relative ‘okuthandayo’ (what you like). It is made up of the following morphemes:

- Locative prefix: kwa-
- Verb root: -khulum-
- Conjugational suffix: -a-
- Relative concord: -oku-
- Verb root: -thand-
- Conjugational suffix: -a-
- Relative suffix: -yo

KwaBhekozayo (place of looking at the one coming)

The above compound name is made up of the verb ‘bheka’ (look) and the relative ‘ozayo’ (Person coming). It has the following morphemes:

- Locative prefix: kwa-
- Verb root: -bhek-
- Conjugational suffix: -a-
- Relative concord: -o-
- Verb root: -z-
- Conjugational suffix: -a-
- Relative suffix: -yo

KwaBhekomthandayo (place of looking at the one you love)

This compound name consists of the verb 'bheka' (look) and the relative 'omthandayo' (the one you love). It comprises the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bhek-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Relative concord:	-omu-
Verb root:	-thand-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Relative suffix:	-yo

KwaBhekomzondayo (place of looking at the one you hate)

This compound name is made up of the verb 'bheka' (look) and the relative 'omzondayo' (the one you hate). It can be divided into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bhek-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Relative concord:	-om(u)-
Verb root:	-zond-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Relative suffix:	-yo

KwaZondomphayo (place of hating the one who gives him/her)

The above compound name consists of the verb 'zonda' and the relative 'omphayo' (who gives him/her). This name consists of the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-zond-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Relative concord:	-om(u)-
Verb root:	-ph-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-

Relative suffix: -yo

KwaBhekophanayo (place of looking at the one who gives)

This compound name consists of the verb 'bheka' (look) and the relative 'ophanayo' (the one who gives). It can be broken down into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: kwa-

Verb root: -bhek-

Conjugational suffix: -a-

Relative concord: -o-

Verb root: -ph-

Reciprocal extension: -an-

Conjugational suffix: -a-

Relative suffix: -yo

KwaBongokuhle (place of thanking what is good)

This compound name consists of the verb 'bonga' (to thank) and the adjective 'okuhle' (what is good). It can be divided into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: kwa-

Verb root: -bong-

Conjugational suffix: -a-

Adjective concord: -oku-

Adjective stem: -hle

KwaBhekokuhle (place of looking at what is good)

The above compound name is made up of a verb 'bheka' (look) and the adjective 'okuhle' (what is good). This name can be broken down into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: kwa-

Verb root: -bhek-

Conjugational suffix: -a-

Adjective concord: -oku-

Adjective stem: -hle

eNdumakude (Place of sounding afar)

The stem of this compound name consists of the verb 'duma' (sound) and the adjective 'kude' (far). It is made up of the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: e-
Class 9 basic prefix: -N-
Verb root: -dum-
Conjugational suffix: -a-
Adverbial prefix: -ku-
Adjective stem: -de

KwaFelokwakhe (place of dying for his)

This compound name consists of the verb 'fela' (die for) and the possessive 'okwakhe' (his).

The constituent morphemes of this compound name are:

Locative prefix: kwa-
Verb root: -f-
Applied extension suffix: -el-
Conjugational suffix: -a-
Pronominal³⁹: -o-
Class 15 concord: -ku-
Possessive formative: -a-
Possessive stem: -khe

KwaLandokwakhe (Place of fetching hers)

This compound name is made up of the verb 'landa' (fetch) and the possessive 'kwakhe' (his).

Its constituent morphemes are:

Locative prefix: kwa-
Verb root: -land-
Conjugational suffix: -a-

³⁹Pronominal o- with possessive pronoun.

Pronominal:	-o-
Class 15 concord:	-ku-
Possessive formative:	-a-
Possessive stem:	-khe

KwaKhethowakhe (place of choosing his own)

The stem of this compound name consists of the verb 'khetha' (choose) and the possessive 'owakhe' (his own). It is made up of the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-kheth-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Pronominal:	-o-
Class 1a concord:	-u-
Possessive formative:	-a-
Possessive stem:	-khe

The above compound nouns (verb + qualificative) also delete phonologically because they delete the last vowel of the first word. Koopman (1984:100) says:

“Zulu place-names being neither personal names, nor common nouns, display both structural characteristics⁴⁰, apparently on an arbitrary basis.”

Koopman's claim is correct when used with different compound place names but when dealing with homestead names (also categorised as place names), the above claim seems not to be fully correct.

3.5.3 Miscellaneous names

This category consists of the structure of those compound names that are the least in the data collected. These structures consist of noun + verb, verb + adverb, verb + verb, verb + enumerative compounds with interrogative suffixes. This does not in anyway suggest that

⁴⁰Refers to phonological and morphological deletion.

there are few compound homestead names with such structure.

KwaNyangithini (place of “what does the herbalist says?”)

The stem of the above compound name consists of the noun ‘inyanga’ (herbalist) and the verb ‘ithini’ (what does he say?). Its constituent morphemes are:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Class 9 basic prefix:	-N-
Noun stem:	-nyanga-
Subject concord:	-i-
Auxiliary verb:	-thi-
Interrogative suffix:	-ni

KwaMuntungifunani (place of “what do you ‘person’ want from me?”)

The stem of the above compound name can be broken down into the noun ‘umuntu’ (a person) and the verb ‘ungifunani’ (what do you want from me?). The constituent morphemes of this compound name are:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Class 1 basic prefix:	-mu-
Noun stem:	-ntu-
Subject concord:	-u-
Object concord:	-ngi-
Verb root:	-fun-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Interrogative suffix:	-ni

KwaBongakuphi (place of “which do you thank?”)

The stem of the above compound name consists of the verb “bonga” (to thank) and the enumerative ‘kuphi’ (which?). Its morphemes are:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bong-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-

Enumerative concord: -ku-

Enumerative stem: -phi

KwaMuntungibukani (place of “why are you ‘person’ looking at me?”)

Locative prefix: kwa-

Class 1 basic prefix: -mu-

Noun stem: -ntu-

Subject concord: -u-

Object concord: -ngi-

Verb root: -buk-

Conjugational suffix: -a-

Interrogative suffix: -ni

KwaNgenangani (place of “come in by means of what?”)

The stem of the above compound name consists of the verb ‘ngena’ (enter/come in) and an instrumental adverb ‘ngani’ (by means of what?). It can be broken down into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: kwa-

Verb root: -ngen-

Conjugational suffix: -a-

Adverbial prefix: -nga-

Interrogative suffix: -ni

KwaVunonjani (place of “how is the one you choose?”)

The stem of the above compound name consists of the verb ‘vuna’ (reap) and the relative ‘onjani’ (how). It can be divided into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix: kwa-

Verb root: -vun-

Conjugational suffix: -a-

Relative concord: -o-

Adverbial stem: -njani

KwaBhekaligcine (place of “looking at it for the last time”)

The stem of this compound name consists of the verb ‘bheka’ (look) and the verb ‘aligcine’ (for the last time/keep it). Its morphemes are:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bhek-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Subject concord:	-li-
Verb root:	-gcin-
Conjugational suffix:	-e

KwaDlasuthe (place of eating until you are satisfied)

The stem of the above compound name consists of the verb ‘dla’ (eat) and the verb ‘suthe’ (be satisfied). It constituent morphemes are:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-dl-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Verb root:	-suth-
Conjugational suffix:	-e

KwaHlalawazi (place of “stay knowing”)

The stem of the above compound name consists of two verbs ‘hlala’ (sit/stay) and ‘wazi’ (know). It can be divided into the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-hlal-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Subject concord:	-u-
Verb root:	-azi

KwaPhumuhambe (place of coming out and go)

The stem of the above compound name consists of the verb ‘phuma’ (come out) and the verb ‘uhambe’ (go). The constituent morphemes of this compound name are:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-phum-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Subject concord:	-u-
Verb root:	-hamb-
Conjugational suffix:	-e

KwaVukuzithathe (place of waking up and taking yourself)

The stem of the above name is made up of the verb 'vuka' (wake up) and the verb 'zithathe' (take yourself). Its morphemes are:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-vuk-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Subject concord:	-u-
Object concord:	-zi-
Verb root:	-thath-
Conjugational suffix:	-e

KwaBambangozwane (place of holding with a toe)

The stem of the above compound name consists of the verb 'bamba' (hold) and an instrumental adverb 'ngozwane' (with a toe). It comprises the following morphemes:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-bamb-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Adverbial prefix:	-nga-
Class 11 pre-prefix:	-u-
Noun:	-zwane

KwaPhumangezwi (place of coming out by voice)

The stem of the above compound consists of the verb 'phuma' (come out) and the adverb 'ngezwi' (by voice). Its constituent morphemes are as follows:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Verb root:	-phum-
Conjugational suffix:	-a-
Adverbial prefix:	-nga-
Class 5 pre-prefix:	-i-
Noun stem:	-zwi

eNdluyamandla (house of power)

This compound name is made up of the noun 'indlu' (house) and the possessive 'yamandla' (of power). Its constituent morphemes are:

Locative prefix:	e-
Class 9 basic prefix:	-N-
Noun stem:	-dlu-
Possessive concord:	-i-
Possessive formative:	-a-
Class 6 basic prefix:	-ma-
Noun stem:	-ndla

3.6 Hypocorisms

Some homestead names are sentential, i.e. they are a sentence on their own e.g. in the sentence *Sala wenabe nomuzi wakho* (Stay and relax in your homestead), we get the homestead name *kwaSalawenabe*. Some names are proverbial as found in some African societies. Musere (1997:90) says:

“A name that is synonymous with the saying “opportunity knocks once” and which can also imply that the parents of the child so named were quite enthralled with its birth is *Tèzikyâ* (f) (= the days do not dawn”) that translates from the saying, “Two good days do not dawn in a row” (= “*Ennaku ennungi, tezikya bbiri*”), and which saying is more inclusively embodied in the name *Tèzikyâbbiri* (f).”

Musere (1997:94) continues by saying that many proverbs are subject to interpretations as is the example “*Akutwaala ekiro, omusiima bukedde*” (“The one who guides (or leads) you in the *night*, deserves your appreciation in the morning/ (or) you will realize the guide’s having been of value, in the morning”). By leading you the guide saves you from travelling in the heat

of the day. The proverb again indicates that one may originally make rigorous demands on you (such as during your youth), but ultimately they may turn out to be for your own good.

Some names are derived from sayings which reveal some of Mabengela's philosophy of life. Usually when people use proverbial or sentential names they use only the first part of the name or a certain phrase in the sentence or proverb e.g. *KwaMathunyw' avume njengempaka ithunywa nguyise umthakathi* (Those who are sent and respond like a wild cat sent by the father, the witch) will be referred to as **kwaMathunywa**, *KwaNgakha ngenkani* (I am building by force) will be referred to as **eNkanini**, *Engedl' eyihlekisa umthakathi* (The witch kills you while laughing with you) will be referred to as **eNgedla**, *KwaBhadaza unyawo lwendoda* (Move clumsily, the foot of a man) **kwaBhadaza** etc.

Ntuli (1992b:33) says:

“Some of the compound words are contracted so that we have only the first member of the word used for the full name.”

The full names are usually not known by the people living in the area where the name is found because people usually use the contracted form of the name. In Mabengela names below are available. These names will be handled slightly differently from names analysed previously.

For example:

eNdinabafazi (place which angers the wives)

The above name is a compound name made up of two words i.e. a verb *dina* (anger) and the noun *abafazi* (wives). Phonological deletion took place i.e. the last vowel of the first element -a- has been deleted. The homestead with the above name is always referred by the members of the community as **eNdina**.

kwaVimbukhalo (place that deter the ridge)

The above compound name is made up of the verb *vimba* (to deter) and the noun *ukhalo* (the ridge). Phonological deletion took place, the last vowel of the first word -a- has been deleted. The above name is always contracted as **KwaVimba**.

eNtandukubusa (place of liking to rule)

This compound name comprises the verb *thanda* (like) and the noun *ukubusa* (to rule). Phonological deletion also took place i.e. the last vowel of the first element -a- has been deleted. The homestead is always referred to as **eNtanda**.

kwaBongakuphi (place of “which do you thank?)

This compound homestead name consists of the verb *bonga* (to thank) and the enumerative *kuphi?* (which). When forming this compound name, no deletion took place as the second element does not start with a vowel. The homestead which bears the above name is usually referred to as **kwaBonga**. Hypocorisms like **kwaMuntu** instead of **kwaMuntungifunani** or **kwaBonga** instead of are often heard.

3.7 Duplicated stems

This category consists of homestead names whose stem has been reduplicated. For example:

KwaGabigabi⁴¹ (place of showing off)

The stem of the above name consists of an interjection *gabi!* (show off) which has been duplicated. Its morphemes are:

Locative prefix:	kwa-
Duplicated interjection:	-gabigabi

eBusikisikini (place of restlessness)

The stem of the above homestead name consists of the noun ‘ubusiki’ which has been reduplicated. Its morphemes are as follows:

Locative prefix:	e-
Class 14 basic prefix:	-bu-
Duplicated noun stem:	-sikisiki-
Locative suffix:	-ini

⁴¹The word **gabigabi** is a children’s cry which they say when they have something which the other does not have, e.g. *gabigabi imoto yami* (Look at my car). They usually are proud when using this word.

3.8 Homestead names as a morphological exception

When place names are derived from nouns by substituting the initial vowel of the noun with the locative prefix, e.g. *inakazi* (red/ brown-white spotted beast) < *eNakazi* (homestead name), their word category changes from noun to being a locative adverb. Van Huyssteen (1994:54) says:

‘Morphologically, the place name **eThekwini** looks like a locative, because the noun **itheku** prefixes **e-** and suffixes **-ini**. Yet, through the process of name forming, **eThekwini** becomes a noun again, regardless of the retention of the ‘adverbial inflexional’ elements **e-** and **-ini** in the stem e.g.

1) **EThekwini** yindawo esihlala kuyo.

(Durban is the place where we stay.)

In 1) **EThekwini** can be considered to be a noun as it functions syntactically as the subject of the sentence.”

Van Huyssteen’s statement is not altogether true, since **eThekwini** does not belong to any of the Zulu noun classes, either by Meinhof or Doke. **EThekwini** is a locative which is made up by prefixing the locative prefix **e-** to the noun **iTheku** and suffixing the locative suffix **-ini**. According to Doke, there are twelve parts of speech, included is the noun and the locative adverb. The locative adverb should then not be confused with the noun. For a word to be a noun it should have a noun class. The above sentence 1) takes the class 17 concord **ku-**, which locative adverbs take. Doke says that although this class (class 17) is not used any longer its concords are used when the locative is the subject or object of the sentence. Following the above, I disagree with van Huyssteen that **eThekwini** is a noun, although it can be used as the subject of the sentence, that does not give it a noun status since it cannot be allocated any noun class. Locative adverbs can function syntactically as the subject of the sentence e.g.

EMthandazweni **kuhlala** kushisa. (At Mthandazweni its always hot.)

KwaNgendla **kuseduze** nasekhaya. (At Ngendla is close to our home.)

EThekwini kuyashisa (At Thekwini it is hot)

Msomi (1991:20) says:

‘It is the prefix that characterises the noun classes. The prefix (determiner and classifier) decides the form of the concord when other parts of speech are brought into relationship with the noun to form a meaningful sentence.”

Using the above quote, the locative prefix *e-* does not characterise the noun class although it decides the form of a concord *ku-* whose class no longer exists in Zulu.

Van Huyssteen (1994:53) says:

“Zulu place names can be in either the radical⁴² or the locative form, e.g. **iTheku** and **eThekwini** respectively....The place name **eThekwini**, for instance, is the locative form of the noun **itheku** (bay/lagoon) or the place name **iTheku**. Yet both **iTheku** and **eThekwini** refer to an entity, here place called Durban.”

In homestead names as categorised as place names, the above does not apply. For example:

umlomo > eMlonyeni

uzalo > oZalweni

The above examples do not refer to the same entity (as with **iTheku** and **eThekwini**), they refer to different entities. **Umlomo** refers to a mouth whereas **eMlonyeni** refers to a homestead name, in those homestead names that prefix the locative prefix *kwa-*, the same thing applies. The noun prefix *u-* of class 1a, is substituted with the locative prefix *kwa-* the when forming homestead names. For example:

UZibhebhu > kwaZibhebhu

uMuntungifunani > kwaMuntungifunani

uBhekozayo > kwaBhekozayo

uVulamehlo > kwaVulamehlo

In the above homestead names, when the radical prefix is used, these names change from being adverbs to being class 1a nouns, and from being homestead names to being personal names. These changes result to a change in the entity referred to therefore one can never say:

*UZibhebhu igama lalo muzi.

(Zibhebhu is the name of this homestead.)

*UBhekozayo ngumuzi engiwuthandayo.

(Bhekozayo is the homestead I like.)

Instead one will say:

KwaZibhebhu yigama lalomuzi.

(KwaZibhebhu is the name of this homestead)

KwaBhekozayo ngumuzi engiwuthandayo.

⁴²Van Huyssteen refers to prefixes *a-*, *i-*, and *u-* as radical prefixes and *e-* and *o-* as locative prefixes.

(KwaBhekozayo is the homestead that I like.)

Van Huyssteen (1994) says that some names employ a radical prefix and a locative suffix. She then refers to such names as partially nouns and partially locatives e.g. **iMpangeni**, **iMadadeni**, **uMthunzini** and **iMahlabathini**.

The above is true with personal names as Koopman (1979:71) says:

“In names derived from inflected nouns, a noun which functions through inflection as an adverb, becomes the noun again through the derivational process of name forming, while still retaining the adverbial inflectional elements in the stem, e.g.

uZinkawini	<	ezinkawini	‘amongst the monkeys’
uKuseni	<	ekuseni	‘in the morning’

but it is doubted with place names. Van Hyssteen unfortunately in her article does not give us sources of her data, she refers to her sources as ‘language users’. She also does not give statistics of how many, out of how many users prefer using the above form. In no way trying to say that the above claim is incorrect, as homestead names do behave differently from place names, I have not come across any homestead names with what she calls ‘**-ini** fossilisation’ with the radical prefix and a locative suffix. Koopman (1983:299) says:

“If a place name has a locative suffix, there must be a locative prefix; **eThekwini** can never be **iThekwini**; **eShongweni** can never be **iShongweni**.”

Van Huyssteen (1994:57) says:

“Koopman’s statement is not altogether true, since **eThekwini** could never be **iThekwini**, because **iTheku**, as confirmed by Zulu informants, is the correct form of the latter name. The rest of the statement, however can be contested on the grounds that morphologically irregular and partially locativised names such as **iNtshongweni**...do exist.”

Looking at the morphology of homestead names, Koopman’s statement seems correct. For example:

eKukhanyeni can never be **iKukhanyeni**, so as **eNkululekweni** can never be **iNkululekweni**. What I am not sure of is the cause, whether it is because there is no other name for the latter name as there is **iTheku** for **iThekwini** or because of different language users who prefer different forms.

As with other place names, mentioned by different researchers, homestead names do not have consistency in their formation. As Koopman (1983:299) says the locative prefix does not necessarily require a locative suffix, this is also true with homestead names such as:

- eNakazi (Place of red/brown-white spotted beast)
- eNdina (place which angers)
- eNtanda (place of liking)

3.9 Misspelling of homestead names

In trying to analyse the data I was presented with, I encountered problems that most researchers researching Zulu names collected by non mother tongue Zulu speakers encounter. To mention a few, Koopman (1983:297) says:

“It had been noticed on the earlier map, and, indeed, on all existing maps for the area, that the Zulu place-names had been inconsistently, and often wrongly spelt.”

Mbatha (1992:8) under the heading “Problems encountered in the analysis of data” says:

“Secondly misspelling of names. For example Sixhobosomntwana and Mpofunkulu were misspelled as Sxhobosomntwana and Mpofunkhulu.”

This study was of no exception as some of the homestead names were misspelt by L. Plassman e.g. **kaSalanjalo** instead of **kaSalakanjalo**, **kwaBekingane** instead of **kwaBhekingane**, **kwaPhumuzumloma** instead of **kwaPhumuzumlomo**. Some of the names do not have prefixes. When looking at these names one can see that originally they do have prefixes, it is because of negligence that these prefixes were not prefixed to their relevant nouns. For example:

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| Nhlalimvenza | Nxangiphilile |
| Simangeni | Khethokwakhe |
| Dunusa | Phindukwenze |
| Mthandazweni | Nkosikhona |
| Nziwanjani | Laluzwile |
| Zondomphayo | Nsamulomo |
| Delowaziyo | Vunonjani |
| Malini | Gezinhliziyo |

Mhawini	Zibhembeni
Bhekukuphiwa	Mpoqweni
Mpumake	Mbusweni
Gabigabi	Nkanini

One who has studied morphology of names can see that it is not because of inconsistency that the above names do not have prefixes, but because of carelessness. It is from this carelessness that sometimes researchers are lead to saying that a locative suffix does not require a locative prefix. Radical prefixes can be prefixed to the name, only if it is in simple form not in a locative form and therefore using what Van Huyssteen calls **-ini** fossilisation. Although it is clear in the above names that **Bhekukuphiwa** prefixes the locative prefix **kwa-**, resulting in **kwaBhekukuphiwa** and the name **Mbusweni** prefixes the prefix **e-**, resulting in **eMbusweni**; a researcher should ask for exact prefixes from the informants as names like Dunusa can take both locative prefixes, resulting in **eDunusa** / **kwaDunusa**.

3.10 Conclusion

Although homestead names are categorised under place names, the linguistic features of homestead names are not similar to that of other place names. Instead of bearing more similarities with place names, homestead names bear similarities with personal names because of using the locative prefix **kwa-**. Koopman (1983:301) says:

“Place names based on the personal⁴³ of individuals must use the **ka-\kwa-** prefix , but names based on clan or group names may use the **e-\ -eni** construction.”

Ntuli (1992b:33) says:

“Like many homestead names, house names sometimes make use of the locative prefix **kwa-** which is normally used with personal names. This “personal” locative prefix tends to personify the house.”

Koopman says that place names delete both phonologically and morphologically in their compounding, whereas personal names delete phonologically only, it can be seen that homestead names as another category of place names delete phonologically as personal names do. It is quite obvious that although homestead names are place names, they are different

⁴³I think Koopman wanted to say ‘personal names’ instead of ‘personal’.

from them. I will therefore suggest that these unique names be treated under their own category as ‘homestead names’ as personal names are, rather than treating them under place names because their formation and their structure is different from them.

The majority of names analysed in this data consists of compound stems. This is because many African communities expressive names are sentential as observed by Pongweni (1983:3) cited in Ntuli (1992b:33). Most complex names found in this data are those that use the *e-* / *ini* locative formative. Only one complex stem (kwaMathunywa) used the locative prefix *kwa-*. Simple stems use the locative prefix *kwa-* and the locative prefix *e-* without the locative suffix. There are some (but not many) simple stems with the locative prefix *e-*, e.g. *eNtanda* and *eNdina*, result being most of those that take prefix *e-* take suffix *-ini* and are therefore classified as complex stems.

There should be a clear distinction between a noun and an adverb of place (name). Crystal’s definition of a noun says:

“In linguistic terms then nouns are items with certain type of inflection (e.g. case and number)... and perform a specific syntactic function (e.g. subject or object of the sentence).”

Should a word not have these inflections, it is not a noun. Msomi (1991:20) says:

“It is the prefix that characterise the noun classes. The prefix (determiner and classifier) decides the form of the concord when other parts of speech are brought into relationship with the noun to form a meaningful sentence.”

If a prefix *e-* does not characterise a noun class, the word **eThekwini** is not a noun but a locative adverb. The prefix *e-* takes the concord *ku-* which is no longer a class concord in Zulu and therefore place names like **eThekwini** are not nouns but locative adverbs, although they can be used as subjects of the sentences.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE AETIOLOGY OF HOMESTEAD NAMES

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction, the analysis of homestead names in this study will be done by using Sørensen's **designatum**, **designator** and **denotatum**. The designator and the denotatum have been looked at in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on the analysis of the designatum of homestead names. The main purpose of this chapter is to discuss the aetiology or the underlying reasons for homestead names and to discuss to what extent homestead names reflect the social dynamics of the community where they are found. Comparison between homestead names and other names will also be looked at.

As mentioned in chapter one, this dissertation comprises more than one discipline, i.e. linguistics and sociology. This chapter focuses on the sociological aspect of this study. Schaefer and Lamm (1992:5) talking about sociological perspectives say:

“One major goal of this perspective is to identify underlying, recurring patterns of and influences on social behaviour.”

Studying human behaviour is another aspect of social science. Moun-ton and Marais (1988:7) define social science as:

“Social science research is a collaborative human activity in which social reality is studied objectively with the aim of gaining a valid understanding of it.”

Every community has its own social dynamics, caused by various factors including political, social, economical and legal factors. There are different ways that people in different communities use to describe their surroundings and one of those ways is by naming features that surround them.

Naming entities has been part of human creatures for centuries. Meiring (1997:21) says:

“Toponyms as propositions stating what and how man sees and experiences the world, can therefore be regarded as a kind of semantic memory which can be disclosed by means of methods and frameworks used in the study of synchronic and diachronic semantics.”

Usually when names are coined, there is a reason behind the particular choice of that name, although sometimes people claim that there is no reason behind a choice of a particular name.

Homestead names refer to events in the social history of the family, circumstances prevailing in the homestead, etc. People use homestead names to refer to what was once there and is now not there. Homestead names are a reminder of certain circumstances that once prevailed and no longer prevail. These names mirror the societies in which they are found.

Naming of animate or inanimate objects is an important aspect in all nations, although the function or the significance of a name is not the same. Naming in Zulu society has a lot to do with the social significance of the society where naming process is undertaken. Wagner (1978:73) cited in Meiring (1997:22) says:

“The process of naming can be described as the transmission of knowledge, episodes and foresights... stored in timeless propositions. These propositions can be used as a key to recovering the motivational elements behind the name as a product of a human mind.”

Moyo (1996:10) says:

“Name giving in Bantu cultures can be influenced by a range of social, religious and cultural circumstances at the time of the child’s birth.”

Due to changes in social dynamics prevailing in different communities, people are affected by different circumstances. To mirror those circumstances, they choose different names for their homesteads. They give their homesteads names that reflect their state of mind, their beliefs, their wishes, their fears, etc. When people are not at ease with one another, this is reflected in the homestead names. The same thing occurs when they are in good relations with one another.

Homestead names found in Mabengela reflect the social dynamics prevailing in the community. Moyo (op cit) says:

“Names have thus evolved with the institution they reflect within the immediate and extended social contexts of the family clan.”

4.2 Time for naming the homestead

Mabeqa (1998:1) states that:

“Naming (whether of a child, daughter in-law, king or place) was regarded by Africans as a very important and spiritual event, in so much that people assigned to this task were very carefully selected. They had to be respectable and experienced people and

their behaviour had to be morally defensible.”

In the traditional Zulu setting, homestead naming has been a task assigned to men. Homestead naming in Mabengela is the responsibility of the headman of that particular homestead. No experience is needed for him to name the homestead. One of the reasons why homestead naming is the responsibility of the headman is because men are regarded as more important than women. Moyo (1996:12) says:

“When it came to personal names, the Ngoni and the Tumbuka⁴⁴ followed Ngoni cultural practices in that the fathers and the grandfathers of the husband’s family became the sole name-givers. The name given to the child carried with it great significance within the larger family, with the result that the personality of the child was seldom the focus of his/her name. Ngoni patrilineal culture played a dominant role while the child’s maternal side played no role in name giving, except in exceptional cases where lobola may not have been paid in full, invariably power was vested in the father as the head of the family. “

Due to changing social dynamics in the Mabengela community, some wives do name their homesteads (in the absence of the headman). According to the informants there is no specific time for naming the homestead. Homesteads are named at any time suitable for the name giver. The name-giver might decide to name his homestead before it is built. Seeing circumstances prevailing in the homestead where he is staying, he might have a particular homestead name that he wishes to give to his homestead when he builds it. Usually this happens when the person is not able to communicate his feelings about something that does not make him happy, and he then waits to communicate his feelings by naming his homestead. Turner (1992:56) says:

“Names reflecting censure, disapproval and discontent serve an important social function in that they tend to minimize friction in the communal environment by enabling a person about whom defamatory allegations have been made to refute these accusations, and attempt to clear his/her name in a subtle yet effective manner.”

As mentioned above, some homesteads were named before they were built, for example *kwaPhumawazi* (place of leaving knowing): the head of this homestead named his homestead before it was built, even before he decided to leave his father’s homestead. He said the reason why he chose the latter name was because he is the last born son in his homestead. He then knew that as time goes on and as he gets older he will have to leave his father’s homestead

⁴⁴Moyo says that the Ngoni and the Tumbuka share origins with the Zulus.

because as the last born he was not going to inherit his father's homestead; his brother was.

The name giver might also decide to name his homestead after it has been built. In most cases those homestead names might reflect the situation that was prevailing when the homestead was built or the name giver's wishes and aspirations for his new homestead. For example, *eKuphumuleni* (place of resting): the head of this homestead said he chose this particular name because his father was married to more than one wife, they then were many and because of that, there used to be tension among different huts. When he moved out of his father's homestead he wanted a place where he could rest with his family, that is the reason why he named his homestead *eKuphumuleni*.

Ntuli (1992a: 18) says that some names originate from the community which observes the behaviour of the inmates and the conditions in the particular homestead, and they may be more popular and widely used than the original one. Although this is true, it is not universally the case. In Mabengela although members of the community might give a particular homestead a name (nickname) that name is known by those who give it and normally used by them in their groups, not everyone knows it, even members of the homestead that is given a nickname might not know that name. Therefore this name is never popular, the original remains popular.

Although some homesteads might have no name after they have been built, according to the informants it is very rare to find a homestead which is three months old but does not have a name. In some cases it does happen that a certain homestead has a name but the name is not known by the community especially if the clan name of that homestead is the only one in the community. For example, in Mabengela district there is only one Khumalo surname, when people refer to the Khumalo homestead they use the surname because it is the only one and everyone understands which homestead they refer to, whereas when referring to a Biyela homestead they use a homestead name instead of the surname because there are many Biyela homesteads.

Although the practice of homestead naming is no longer dominant in other rural areas where

homestead naming had been a common practice, it is still practised in Mabengela. According to the informants, the reason why homestead naming is no longer dominant in other rural areas is because people move to other places and the need for distinguishing one homestead from the other is minimal as different surnames distinguish one homestead from the other. , People still see a need to name their homesteads to distinguish them from others. This depends on different people who name the homestead and the circumstances around them.

4.3 Western house names and Zulu rural homestead names

Homestead naming has been a practice and still is a practice in various communities. The reason why different communities name their homesteads differs. Some people name their homesteads because they like the name or they like its sound or because they saw it somewhere and they were fascinated by it. Whereas others name their homesteads because of particular circumstances prevailing either in the homestead or in the community. Usually naming in western culture is not associated with any events or circumstances prevailing in the homestead, whereas in Zulu setting, homestead naming is linked to the events that affect either the whole family or the head of the family. In traditional Zulu societies names reflect social commentary by the name-giver which in the majority of cases has negative connotations, whereas western names are just mere labels used to identify the house without any social comments by the name giver. Unlike western house names, Zulu homestead naming has social significance. Although some Zulus claim that the reason why they chose a particular homestead name was because they liked it, and it bears no significance whatsoever, this is usually not the case. Kidd (1904:241) cited in Koopman (1986:15) says:

“A native will often try to put you off when you enquire about the meaning of a name by saying, ‘A name is a name and nothing more’. Yet it is frequently a great deal more.”

Unlike in some Zulu rural areas where homestead names are used to distinguish one homestead from the other, in Western areas house names are not used to distinguish one house from the other. From a pilot study in one of the suburbs in Pietermaritzburg, it was noticed that house naming in the area was socio-culturally related to status. This is because most houses that have names are those that were in smart suburbs, with big expensive houses and big gardens. Unlike in Zulu rural areas where homestead names are used to uniquely

identify a homestead from others, house names in western areas are not used to uniquely identify a house from the other as house numbers are used to locate the house. These names are used to elevate the status of the house. Unlike Zulu homestead names which are known by almost the whole community, these names are known by the owners of the house, immediate family members and sometimes by neighbours only. The obvious reason for that is because unlike in Zulu rural areas where people live a communal life (almost everyone knows each other), in urban areas people live individual lives (in some cases people do not even know their neighbours). Depending on how familiar neighbours are with each other, some neighbours do not know the house names of their neighbours because they do not take notice of them. Unlike in Zulu rural areas where a visitor has to ask for the names of a particular homestead (when looking for a homestead), in Western areas house names are displayed for every passers-by to see. In most cases people do not have to ask the name of the house from other people because it is displayed usually at the entrance of the house. Some of the house names that were found in the area where the pilot study was done were: Summerfield, Belgoma, Blackwood Grove, Polfyntjie and Ruenzori. The house names should not be confused with surnames which are also displayed in some of the houses e.g. The Smiths, W.H. Roberts etc. From the above names, it can be seen that naming in western areas is not based on social commentary and in most cases has no negative connotations, whereas in Mabengela naming still reflects family tension or unpleasant occurrences such as conflict within the family or witchcraft within the family and or among the community.

It is very rare to find house names in townships where African or where people of low status reside. Ntuli (1992a:22) says:

“I enquired from the Zulu speaking pupils in my township and not one of them could indicate that their home had a name. The name of the section and the number of the stand have completely taken over the names by which the houses in that stand could otherwise be known.”

Zulu homestead naming has been a practice since the days of King Shaka. There are various reasons that made olden rural generations name their homesteads, and there still are various reasons that make people living in Mabengela name their homesteads. Although this practice has been abandoned by some of the Zulus, especially those staying in urban areas, it still exists in some rural areas. It is assumed that house numbers, street names and surnames are now

substituting the homestead name in built up areas.

The primary function of Zulu homestead names is to distinguish one homestead from the other. As people of the same clan usually settle close to one another, one cannot use a surname to uniquely identify a homestead. For example at Mabengela there are about 73 Biyela homesteads out of 142 homesteads. It is easier to see which Biyela homestead one refers to when one uses a homestead name rather than a surname. Homestead names in Mabengela do not only distinguish one homestead from another but also reflect the social dynamics prevailing in the community where they are found. Unlike homestead names in some western areas, homestead names in Mabengela are never chosen without careful consideration of events surrounding the family; they are not just labels given at random.

To some extent the societies we live in affect the way people behave and therefore affect the choice of the homestead name. The way people live and external factors surrounding them, play a major role in the variety of homestead names that are found in the community. For example, if they are having conflict with the neighbours, a head of the family may decide to give his homestead a name that will be an indirect message to his opponents. An informant said that he named his sons' homestead *eMalini* after his homestead was burned by some of the members of the community. At that time his son was still staying in his homestead. He said he thought that the reason why his homestead was burned was because some members of the community were jealous of his family because they thought he had a lot of money. When his son got married and built his homestead, he sarcastically named his son's homestead *eMalini* (place of money) because people said he had a lot of money. Homestead names can therefore be used as a way of indirect communication amongst members of the community. Turner (1992:45) says:

“In Zulu society, the use of names especially personal names (of people and of animals) is an extremely useful channel of expressing discontent or passing criticism at those in close proximity, and is a vital way in which censure or tension is publicly aired, either with the intention of making others aware of the problem, or for the ultimate purpose of restraining or correcting an undesirable situation/ behaviour trait as direct confrontation or criticism is not an acceptable or preferred form of behaviour.”

4.4 Homestead naming as practised during olden times in Zululand

As mentioned above, homestead naming has been a common practice in Zululand for as far as the origin of the Zulus can be traced. Particular attention will be paid to some of the Zulu royal homesteads, where Zulu kings used to live. It must be noted that not only kings used to name their homestead, ordinary men also used to name their homesteads. Although there is no documentation of their homestead names, this might be because no author had particular interest in their homestead names.

4.4.1 Homestead names of some of Jama's descendants

Sojoyisa (the son of Nongati who was a Thonga) named his homestead *kwaMandlakazi*. Nongati came to Zululand because she was kidnapped after the battle between Zulus and the Thongas. The Thongas were defeated and some of their people were kidnapped. When Nongati came to Zululand she was pregnant, nevertheless Jama (Shaka's grandfather) made her his wife. Nongati then gave birth to a son. The Zulu clan was not happy about Jama's action because they knew Sojoyisa was a Thonga, he was not Jama's son and they did not want to be ruled by a Thonga. Because Jama had daughters only, everyone thought that Sojoyisa was going to be his successor. Some time after the birth of Sojoyisa, Jama found himself another wife (Mthaniya) with the help of his daughter (Mkabayi) who went and asked Mthaniya to be her father's wife. Mthaniya gave birth to a son (Senzangakhona). As Jama's son, Senzangakhona was then going to be his father's successor.

Sojoyisa on the other hand wanted to be Jama's successor as he was older than Senzangakhona. Sojoyisa then moved out of Jama's homestead (*kwaNobamba*) to build his own homestead and named it *kwaMandlakazi* (a place of great power). From the homestead name, Mkabayi (Jama's daughter born from his first chief wife) could see that Sojoyisa was preparing a battle, as he did not want Senzangakhona to be Jama's successor. Msimang (1982:97) says:

“Kwalona igama elithi Mandlakazi lamethusa uMkabayi. Ngabe Mandlakazi mani lawa akhuluma ngawo uSojoyisa? Abone uMkabayi ukuthi uSojoyisa lona usephenduke ifu elimnyama elithanda ukusibekela umbuso kaJama...USojoyisa sekuthiwa nguyena othi uyabangiswa. Kubonakale ukuthi usevuse umhlengwa ngempela usefuna ukuthatha ubukhosi. Uyabona njalo uyezwa futhi uMkabayi.

“Even the name Mandlakazi scared Mkabayi. Which great power is Sojoyisa talking about? Mkabayi saw that Sojoyisa has become a dark cloud which is covering Jama’s kingdom... It is said that Sojoyisa says he is being contended. It was seen that he wants to start a fight to take the kingdom. Mkabayi is seeing and also hearing.”

Although Mkabayi had heard from the gossips that Sojoyisa said he was Jama’s successor, it was his homestead name that caused his death. It can be seen that even then people used homestead names to indirectly communicate things that they did not want to communicate directly. Sojoyisa used the homestead name *kwaMandlakazi* to make people aware of his intentions. He named his homestead *kwaMandlakazi* to threaten Senzangakhona, to show that he had great power and he could defeat him. As Senzangakhona was still too young to be a ruler, his sister Mkabayi was holding his kingship. Mkabayi, seeing the threat from Sojoyisa’s homestead, sent an army to go and kill him.

Maphitha (Sojoyisa’s first born son) named his homestead *eNkungwini*. When Sojoyisa and his people were killed and his homestead burnt, his two sons survived from that battle and one of them was Maphitha. After Sojoyisa’s and his people’s death, it was discovered when corpses were counted that Maphitha’s and Tokotoko’s corpses were not there. Mkabayi then sent people to go and look for them. When they were found they were taken to Mkabayi; although at first she decided to kill them, she did not, because she thought the reason why they survived was because the ancestors wanted them to survive. As they had no place to go to, they were given a place a *kwaNobamba*. When Senzangakhona built his homestead, Tokotoko went with him to *eSiklebheni* (Senzangakhona’s homestead). Instead of going to stay with Senzangakhona, Maphitha asked for his own place. After he was given it, he built a homestead and named it *eNkungwini* (place of the mist). Mkabayi was shocked when she heard this homestead name because it was a reminder of what happened during his father’s death. Maphitha and his brother were helped by the early morning mist as people from far could not see them when they were escaping. Msimang (1982:107) describing the day Sojoyisa died says:

“NakwaMandlakazi bakhathazekile abakhona ngoba amagovu selokhu eshaye umkhulungwane ongapheli. Nokho akukho abangakwenza kulenkungu engaka ekhuhle. Noma bangathumela izinhlozi zingaze zishayane nezitha ngezifuba zingaboni.”

“Even at Mandlakazi they were worried because the dogs were crying and not stopping. Though there is nothing they could do because of the mist. Even if they could send the guards, they might meet the enemies without recognising them.”

Maphita's homestead name was therefore a reminder of his father's and his family's death. Maphitha also got some praise names because of the above incident. Msimang (1982:116) says that the poet was praising him saying:

“Impungush'eyeq'umgibaniso
Ezinye zibanjwe ngayizolo
Usembula nkungu kuvel'ilanga.”

*“The jackal which jumped the disputes
When others were trapped the day before
The one who uncovered the mist and the sun appeared.”*

Homestead names can also be used as a reminder of certain events and or circumstances which might be good or bad that had happened to a person or people. Turner (1992:42) says:

“The social processes and reasons underpinning the ramification of certain names given to people, animals and inanimate objects in Zulu society, reveal that this naming process is inextricably linked with events that occur within a given community, and names often mirror these events.”

It can be seen from the above examples that Zulu homestead names were not just mere labels used to identify or distinguish one homestead from the other, but they were mirrors of events that happen in a given community at a given time. These names not only mirror those events but also reflect the social settings of the communities where they are found.

One of Shaka's homestead was *kwaBulawayo* (place of killing). The reason why he named this homestead *kwaBulawayo* was because when he returned to *kwaNobamba* from King Dingiswayo's homestead, he wanted revenge on all those who ill treated him and his mother when he was young. Shaka was Nandi and King Sezangakhona's son. He was conceived when his parents were not married. Senzangakhona was one of the people who did not like Shaka and his mother. After Shaka left a dog to kill one of the sheep he was herding, he and his mother were expelled from the Zulu tribe. He was also ill treated by those of *Elangeni* (his mother's home). They left and got refuge in King Dingiswayo's homestead.

When Senzangakhona died, one of Shaka's half brothers (Sigujana) succeeded him. When Shaka heard that, they planned with Dingiswayo to kill him so that Shaka would go back to take his throne. When Shaka was made the King of the Zulu tribe, he built a homestead and named it *kwaBulawayo* (the place of killing). Msimang (1982:133-137) says:

“Nokho ukunethezeka akukapheleli ngoba inhliziyi isenamagqubu ngalabo ababemphethe kabi esemncane. Usasongela *abaseLangeni*, ekhaya konina, *abakwaPhungashe*, kwaButhelezi nabanye. Uthe angaziphindiselela kubo waqala ukweneliseka. Aqale ukulungiselela impi umfo kaSenzangakhona. Kubonakale nokho ukuthi unenhlanhla umfo lona ngenxa yogazi asezakhele lona... Yaba miningi imikhosi eyenziwa kwelakwaZulu kuhalaliswa. UShaka wakha umuzi omkhulu *wakwaBulawayo* wamema izwe ukuba lizogubha naye umkhosi omkhulu wokunyathela uswela.”

“Though comfort has not been fulfilled because his heart still has grudges for the those who were troubling him during his childhood. He is threatening those of eLangeni, at his mother's place, those of Phungashe, those of Buthelezi and others. After taking revenge on them, he started feeling comfortable... The son of Senzangakhona started preparing the battle. It was seen that he was lucky because of attractiveness he had built for himself... There were lot of functions that were done in Zululand applauding. Shaka built a great homestead and named it Bulawayo, he invited the nation to come and celebrate the big function.”

Another Shaka's homestead was *kwaDukuza* (place of groping). This homestead was named *kwaDukuza* because it was so big, bigger than *kwaBulawayo*, people had to grope to find whatever they were looking for. The homestead name *kwaDukuza* describes the homestead rather than the events or circumstances.

It can thus be seen that the art of homestead naming has been with the Zulu people since the origin of the Zulu tribe.

When Dingane (Shaka's half brother who planned to kill him) took the throne to succeed his half brother Shaka, he did not want to stay at *kwaDukuza* because lots of things happened in that homestead and they did not make him feel at ease. Dingane did not want to go to his father's homestead *eSiklebheni*. He built a big homestead and named it *eMgungundlovu*. The name *eMgungundlovu* consists of a compound stem, which is made up of a verb *gunga* (surround) and the noun *undlovu*. Msimang (1982:168) says:

“Wamakha-ke uqedisigodi wenxulumakazi lakhe wamqamba ngokuthi

kuseMgungundlovu. Abaningi labethusa leligama. Phela uDingane wayefuna ukukhumbuza isizwe sonke ngisho izizukulwane eziyolandela ngesigungu esahlangana kwaDukuza ngozungu lokugiba indlovu enkulu.”

“He built a very large homestead and named it eMgungundlovu. This name scared many people. Dingane wanted to remind the whole nation even the coming descendants of the secret that met at kwaDukuza with the scheme to kill the big elephant.”

Usually there are different stories behind a choice of a particular homestead names as it also applies to place names. Different people come with different stories, but in all those stories, only one of them is correct. Some people say that the reason why Dingane named his homestead *eMgungundlovu* was because he was afraid that people were going to kill him after what he did to Shaka. He then named his homestead *eMgungundlovu* to scare them that he is an elephant that is being surrounded by an army. Others say that Dingane was afraid of the white people who wanted his land. He named his homestead *eMgungundlovu* to scare them. After Dingane was defeated by the whites, they (whites) came to Pietermaritzburg and named it *eMgungundlovu*. It is said that there is some sarcasm in the city name *eMgungundlovu*. It is said that it was named because the whites were sarcastic that as they defeated Dingane, they were then the elephants that were surrounded by the army. Dingane’s homestead name was then made a city name which was the capital of KwaZulu Natal. Dingane’s original homestead should not be confused with Pietermaritzburg, as it is not in Pietermaritzburg but still bears its name *eMgungundlovu*.

After Dingane’s death, Mpande (Dingane’s brother) was then a King of the Zulus. Because he was afraid of Mkabayi (Senzangakhona’s half sister) he decided to expel her from where she was staying (kwaNobamba) and built her a new homestead which would be far from where he was. Mpande did not want to expel her in such a way as to cause conflict between them, because he was afraid of her. Mpande in Msimang’s novel **Buzani kuMkabayi**, (1982:188) says:

“Ngifuna ukumdedisa ngaphandle kokuzixabanisa naye. Phela akekho owake waxabana noMkabayi kwaphinde kwamlungela. Manje-ke uMpande lona akasona isilima. UMkabayi ngizomendisa. Onke amawe ayendiswa. Ubabamkhulu okwakumele amendise wehluleka. Kwathi noma bendluleka bethi lokhu kuwumkhonto omubi ozogwaza umuzi wonke uwubhuqe nya yena waqinisa ikhanda. Mina njengomzukululu wakhe ngizomenzela lowo msebenzi wokugingisa uMkabayi igabade.

Angizukumbulala nokho, ngizombeka inxiwa le emajukujukwini, aphume aphele phakathi kombuso.”

“I want to get her out of the way without quarrelling with her. There is no one who had quarrel with Mkabayi and things went good for him/her. Mpande is not stupid. I will put Mkabayi very far. All twins were killed. My grandfather who was supposed to kill her failed. Even though they advised him that what he was doing was a bad spear that will stab and finish the whole homestead, he was stubborn. I as his grandchild will do that job for him of expelling Mkabayi. I will not kill her though, I will give her a homestead very far, so that she can get away from the kingdom.”

He then said he wanted to have an army to guard a place near Dumbe and he wanted Mkabayi to govern them. The Zwane tribe which was staying there at that time went under the Zulu kingdom, because they did not fight, they just surrendered. The homestead was named *eMahlabaneni* (place of winning). Although Mkabayi did obey Mpande and went to stay at *eMahlabaneni*, she was not at ease, her heart was left at *kwaNobamba* (her father's homestead). She then used to complain that she did not like the place, she was just sitting and persevering because there was no other place she could go to.

As Mkabayi used to complain, many people noticed that and the homestead was then named *ebaQulusini* (place of perseverance). Msimang (1982:190) stating the aetiology of the homestead name *ebaQulusini* says:

“Kuyashisa ehlobo kanti amakhaza akhona ebusika selokhu wazalwa awukaze uwezwe anjeya. Yizwe lomtshiki. UMkabayi wayesekhulile, esedinga indawo yokukhosela. Indawo esithile. Pho babengathini oMpande ukumbeka kwelomtshiki bathi akakhosele kulo? Wayeshiso yilokho ukuthi uqulusile.”

*“It is hot in summer but cold in winter since you were born you have never felt cold like that. It's a world of **umtshiki** grass. Mkabayi was old needing a shelter. A place which is hidden. So what was Mpande thinking putting her in the world of **umtshiki** grass saying she must shelter herself in it? This is what made her say she is persevering.”*

From the above it can be seen that Zulu homestead names reflected different circumstances prevailing at a certain place at a particular time. These names communicated what people felt at a given time e.g. *ebaQulusini*, were also a reminder of events that happened to the name-giver which might be good or bad events e.g. *kwaBulawayo*, *eMgungundlovu* and *eNkungwini*, they also described the position of the homestead, e.g. *kwaDukuza*. These names

bear a significant message from the name-giver to the person the name is directed to. From the above names it can also be seen that social circumstances in which homestead names are given are different from one to another and these names reflect those circumstances.

4.5 Comparison between homestead names and other names

4.5.1 Homestead names and place names

Onomastics as the study of names includes place names, personal names, etc. Place names (toponyms) can be divided into different categories, i.e. river names, mountain names, names of regions, etc. Homestead names are classified under toponyms. Jenkins, Raper and Moller (1996:32) citing the UNGEGN chairman say:

“Geographical names⁴⁵ serve several functions, in relation both to places they designate and to the groups who live in them. They serve to locate, classify, distinguish and characterise an endless number of places of varying nature, function and size. But they also serve to recall, to evoke, to record and even to promote elements of the collective memory of a people, be they events, persons or other elements of regional and national culture.”

Homestead names are categorised under place names because they have some similarities with place names and are place names. Attention will only be paid to those homestead names that are found in Mabengela, apart from those I have already talked about. Homestead names in Mabengela prefix the locative prefix *e-* or *o-* and suffix the locative suffix *-ini/-eni* as place names do. Some place names only prefix the locative prefix without any suffixal morpheme. Some KwaZulu-Natal place names with the above structure are:

eMpangeni

oLundi

eMadadeni

oSizweni

Examples of some of the homestead names that are found in Mabengela that also use the above prefixes and suffixes are:

eNdina

eNtokozweni

⁴⁵Jenkins, Raper and Moller use the terms ‘geographical names’ and ‘place names’ interchangeably, as place names include geographical features.

eKuthuleni

eMandleni

Apart from using the above prefixes and suffixes, some homestead names in Mabengela also use the locative prefix *kwa-*. As place names, some homestead names are based on incidents that have happened in a certain area at a particular time. Graves (1983:151) says:

“Place names are like finger prints of yesterday, unique to a place a time, a people and event.”

Unlike in homestead names where incidents affect the owner of the homestead or the members of the family, in most cases incidents from where some place names are drawn affect the whole community where the incident happen, and in most cases the community is involved in naming that particular place.

Unlike homestead names which rarely change, place names are a target for change in different communities. Due to historical, political and social changes that take place in a given community, place names are also subject to change. Jenkins, Raper and Moller (1996:12) say:

“Changing names is part of a process of change in the tide of a country’s history. It acts as a mirror of the dynamic forces of changing historical relations, human sentiments, ideologies and attitudes towards change.”

Uys (1994:IX) says:

“The names of African countries have been undergoing considerable changes over the past few centuries; for that matter, some still are. There is no state in Africa that has not changed its name, at least once. This variety of names- and variants of the same name- is a source of confusion.”

The process of name changing might not be a positive one to all the people who are used to the old name. It might cause conflict between those in power and the subordinates. Place name changing in South Africa depends on who is in power. For example, when the National party was in power there were a lot of English and Afrikaans place names, and when the Democratic government took power some of English and Afrikaans place names were replaced by place names that were exonyms⁴⁶ when National party was ruling. For example, *eThekwini* was an exonym of Durban until Zulu was made an official language of South

⁴⁶Exonym is defined as a name of a place in a non official language of a country where it is found.

Africa. Unlike place names that change because of certain forces in the society, homestead names do not change because of this. They may remain even if the conditions that were prevailing when it was given have changed. For example, *kwaSalanjalo* (a place of always staying behind) , the informant said that the homestead was given the name because the members of the family were dying one after the other and her grandfather was the only one that was left because all his siblings and his parents died. He named his homestead *kwaSalanjalo* because he was the only one left to make sure that there would be a generation that was going to make the family grow. Although the informant's grandfather died, he did leave a generation as he wished and it is from that generation that this information was collected. Although what was happening during that time no longer happens, the homestead still bears the name *kwaSalanjalo*.

The change of a name might have psychological effects or negative connotations on some people, as they might start hating the place just because they hate the new name or the person who has substituted the old name for a new one.

Some place names (other than homestead names) are changed because they are no longer appealing to the community members, others are changed because there is a new government that is in power. Meiring (1994:65) says that because names reflect how people think and how they reflect the world around them, they will ultimately be targets for change. On the other hand homestead names rarely change. I was informed by an informant that names are only changed when the head of the homestead feels that the name affects the behaviour of the members of the family. The reason for that is because when the elders name the it, they name it because of circumstances prevailing in it whether good, embarrassing or bad. In other cases they give homesteads sarcastic names which stay on and affect the behaviour of those residing in it. The informant said that sarcastic names were given to dogs because when they are given to dogs they do not have any effect on the members of the family, instead they make those sarcastic names are directed to, see that they are being watched. Chikaranga cited in Koopman (1992:8) says:

“When any person conceives that he or she has a grievance against another, it is apparently the practice to bestow a name on a dog which will act as a perpetual reminder to the guilty of his fault.”

The informant continued saying that as time went on, sarcastic names were also given to homesteads and are getting more common to homesteads as not everyone had a dog, to bestow the name on. The informant argued referring to his experience that sarcastic names must be given to dogs as it was the case before, as they affect the behaviour in the homestead and in a long run lead to a need for a name change.

For example: *eNgedla* (place of grinding), the head of this homestead said that his father named the homestead *eNgedla* taken from the saying “*ugedla ekuhlekisa umthakathi*” (the witch kills while laughing with you) because he was seeing that people who were killing the members of his family were the ones that were laughing with him. The head of *eNgedla* said he is now the only member of his family who is living and he believes that, that happened because of the homestead name. He believes that although members of his father’s family were dying, his father should have given the homestead another name, because the name made things worse because the witch continued killing whilst laughing with them. He then said that he wants to change the homestead name, but he cannot do it as soon as he wants because he did not have money to buy a cow to slaughter for them. When asked why he could not just change the name, he said when changing the name he must communicate with his forefathers because they are the ones who chose it and they had a strong reason for doing so. If he changes it without communicating with them that might lead to more misfortune happening to his family.

Homestead names connote and also denote, i.e. have some association with incidents or events, have literal or obvious meaning and also refer to the homestead with the name. The reason for this is because some place names have been adopted from other languages. In homestead names, although sometimes denotatum and connotations might overlap, they are not the same. In other cases the meaning of Zulu homestead names and the reasons for giving a particular name overlap. For example, *eNtokozweni*: the meaning of this homestead name is ‘place of happiness’ and the reason for choosing this name was that the head of the family wanted his homestead to be a place where everyone would be happy and feel at home.

4.5.2 Homestead names, dog names and personal names

Different people from various cultures give their children names to identify them. There are different reasons that make them chose certain names for their children. Apart from identifying their children, these names also reflect the cultural belief of a particular family. Under this heading, a comparison between reasons and meanings of Zulu personal names and that of homestead names will be looked at, and particular attention will also be paid to the frequency of personal name changes.

In Zulu names reasons and meaning are sometimes linked. Although this is the case, this does not mean that reasons and meaning cannot be separated. Reasons for naming refer to the circumstances that led to a particular choice of a homestead name, which might include death in the family, child born after a previous still born child, friction in the family etc., whereas meaning of a name refers to a literal interpretation of that particular name. In different communities, when a child is born (sometimes even before the child is born) s/he is given a name. The name-giver depends on the socio-cultural setting of that given community. Traditionally in Zulu after a child's birth, s/he was taken to his /her father so that he could bestow a name on his child. We are reminded by a quote by Moyo (1996:15) on page 108 which says:

“Ngoni patrilineal culture played a dominant role while the child's maternal side played no role in name giving, except in exceptional cases where lobola may not have been paid in full, invariably power was vested in the father as head of the family. Name-giving could then be said to reflect cultural attitudes within social context on the paternal side.”

As time goes on the responsibility of name giving has shifted from fathers to any member of the family. In the majority of urban areas where some Zulus are based, the name is chosen by both the mother and the father of the child without the involvement of other members of the family.

4.6 Reasons for homestead naming

As mentioned above, homestead naming has been a common practice among the Zulus for centuries. There are various reasons which prompt different people to name their homesteads. Although the primary function of these names is to distinctly identify each homestead from the

other, as people of the same clan in rural areas usually settle close to one another, these names are also used as a way of communicating the inner feelings, thoughts and attitudes of the name-giver. Each homestead name carries unique stories or incidents with it. Ntuli (1992a:16) says:

“Sometimes there is a story or an anecdote behind the giving of a name. The name can be a quotation from the story. The name often refers to the suffering once experienced by the head of the homestead.”

Some people name their homesteads so that the names can be a reminder to the coming generation of the family’s history, while others name them to communicate their feelings and attitudes. When conducting field work, it was discovered that the main reason why people in Mabengela name their homesteads was for communicating their feelings and their thoughts to those living in the district. From the homestead name one can get an idea of what to expect when visiting people, e.g. an idea that one has about the homestead name *eMthandazweni* will be different to the idea that one might have about *kwaPhumuzumlomo*.

4.7 Semantic analysis of homestead names

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, in trying to analyse the list of homestead names I was presented with, some challenges were found because some names were ambiguous and could not be interpreted clearly without getting some insight into the name from the members living in the homestead bearing that name. The spelling of some names was incorrect and I had to go to the informants to get the correct spelling, as incorrect spelling led to the incorrect meaning of the name. Because of the incorrect meaning of the name, there is confusion between the meaning of the name and the underlying reasons for a particular homestead name.

There is often more than one interpretation of homestead names. For example, *kwaSithindoda*, this name has more than one interpretation. The first one is where it is assumed that the verb is *sithi* which means “we say” and the second one is where it is assumed that the verb is *sitha* which means “hide” and there is a phonological deletion of the last vowel *-a-*, this then gives this name two interpretations which are “hide a man” and “we say it is a man”. In the list of homestead names I was presented with some homesteads which share the

same name e.g. *kwaBhekozayo* (place of looking at who is coming), *eMandleni* (Place of strength), *eNtokozweni* (place of joy), *kwaDelowaziyo* (place of 's/he is satisfied s/he who knows), *kwaPhumuzumlomo* (place of letting the mouth rest), *eNxangiphilile* (place of as long as I am alive), *eNjabulweni* (place of happiness), *kwaCelimpilo* (place of asking for health) and *kwaPhumangezwi* (place of leaving because of talk). Although the designator of these names is the same, the designatum is not the same, as different families have various experiences that lead them to choose a particular homestead name. It then shows that one cannot analyse the data without getting the correct information from the informants. Meaning given in this analysis is the informants' interpretation not the researcher's.

From the study of Zulu homestead names in the Mabengela community and relevant field work, it was noticed that homestead names do not only refer to a particular homestead or distinguish it from others, but also reflect the social dynamics of the community of Mabengela. These names are given because of different circumstances affecting the family or the head of the family at a particular time. Homestead names are therefore never chosen without careful consideration of events surrounding the family, the clan or the society at large, they then are not just labels given at random.

Using the list of 144 homestead names, various homesteads were interviewed and in some homesteads members did not know the aetiology of the homestead name. Reasons for particular choice of a homestead name were collected in those homesteads where members knew the underlying reasons for the name. After the reasons for homestead naming in Mabengela were collected, names were then divided into different sub-categories which were then divided into narrower categories. In this study homestead names are discussed in narrower categories and then in broader categories. Each category is discussed as a whole and then its link or relationship with other categories is discussed. It should be noted that some homestead names belong to more than one category e.g. *eZangomeni* (place of diviners), this homestead name belongs to both the category of conflict and also that of witchcraft.

4.8 Categories of homestead names

Homestead names have been classified according to categories which they are associated the

most with.

- 4.8.1 **Conflict**: name refers to the conflict between the name and the family or people living in the district.
- 4.8.2 **Care and concern**: the name refers to the namer’s responsibility to look after something.
- 4.8.3 **Reaction**: the name refers to the reaction of a person who is unfairly criticised.
- 4.8.4 **Incidents**: the name refers to unusual incidents that happen in the homestead.
- 4.8.5 **Personality attributes**: the name refers to the personality attributes of the name-giver and /or of the members of the homestead.
- 4.8.6 **Gossip**: the name refers to gossip within the family and or community, the name may also be a response to gossipers
- 4.8.7 **Wishes and aspirations**: the name refers to the wishes of the name giver.
- 4.8.8 **Peace and harmony**: the name refers to peace and or harmony that the owner of the homestead aspires for.
- 4.8.9 **Injunction**: the name refers to the aspirations of the name -giver for members of the family to aspire to the moral standards of the society.
- 4.8.10 **Location**: the name refers to the geographical location of the homestead.
- 4.8.11 **Joy and Happiness**: the name reflects the name-giver’s feelings of joy and happiness because of his homestead.
- 4.8.12 **Witchcraft**: these names refer to witchcraft either in the family or the society.
- 4.8.13 **Self empowerment**: the name refers to people taking the initiative and doing things for themselves.
- 4.8.14 **Progress**: the name refers to progress within the homestead.
- 4.8.15 **Struggle**: the name refers to the struggles within the homestead, it sometimes refers to the owner’s struggle to build the homestead.
- 4.8.16 **Religious affiliations**: the name refers to the members belief and their religious groups.
- 4.8.17 **Other**: this category includes names that are left over, i.e. those that belong to none of the above categories.

The table below shows comparative percentages of different underlying reasons of homestead

names in descending order. Although some names belong to more than one category, as mentioned above, those names have been allocated to only one category.

Table 1

1. Conflict	13.6%	13. Self empowerment	4.1%
2. Care and concern	11.6 %	14. Progress	3.4%
3. Reaction	8.2%	15. Struggle	2.1%
4. Incident	6.8%	16. Religious affiliations	2.1%
5. Gossip	6.2 %	17. Other	6.2%
6. Personality attributes	6.2%		
7. Peace & harmony	5.5%		
8. Wishes & aspirations	5.5%		
9. Injunction	4.8%		
10. Joy & happiness	4.8%		
11. Condition & location	4.8%		
12. Witchcraft	4.1%		
		Total	100%

4.8.1 Conflict

In this category the reason given by the head of the homestead for naming his homestead refers to the conflict within the family and or within the village. Conflict may range between the siblings from different huts, among wives of the same man, among wives of different men staying in the same homestead, between the wives and the mother in-law and sometimes conflict between the husband and his wife/ wives. These homestead names are given to articulate tension, dissatisfaction, anger, etc., that exist within the members of the family or

the community at large. These names are also useful in providing means of indirect statement when the direct one is not practical.

Examples:

KwaSalabenabe⁴⁷ (remain and stretch your feet): The owner of this homestead was staying at her husband's homestead, before she moved out and built her own homestead. The informant said that she, (the owner of the homestead) had some misunderstanding with her husband who had another wife staying in the same homestead. When she went to fetch wood, her husband burnt her hut. He did not realise that someone was seeing him when he was burning the hut. When the wife returned from fetching wood and found the house burnt, she asked who burnt it, and her husband said he did not know. The husband's brother who saw him burning the house confessed that it was his brother. The wife then said '*Sala-ke nomuzi wakho wenabe*' (remain with your homestead and stretch your feet) and left the homestead to build her own one. She then named it *kwaSalabenabe*.

KwaMuntungifunani (what does a person want from me?): The head of this homestead named it after he was experiencing problems when staying at his parent's homestead. The informant said the owner of the homestead never used to quarrel with anyone nevertheless someone (the informant did not want to reveal whether a family member or a community member) was troubling him. He then named his homestead *kwaMuntungifunani* taken from the phrases he used to say: '*umuntu ungibulalelani ngoba angisho lutho kumuntu, futhi angifuni lutho lomuntu*' (why is the person killing me because I do not say anything to anyone and I do not want anything from anyone).

ENdina⁴⁸ (anger): As mentioned in chapter two, wives are supposed to respect their in-laws, with regards to the father in-law they do not utter a word to him unless they have been given permission to do so by the in-laws by slaughtering a cow for them. Nevertheless it is not all wives who are respectful to their in-laws. The informant said that the head of this homestead (whose wife was dead) used to be troubled by his son's wives and they used to make him

⁴⁷In the translation of all homestead names 'at' or 'place of' is omitted, only the meaning of the name is given.

⁴⁸ENdina is the short form of the homestead name eNdinabafazi.

angry when he was staying in his old homestead. Seeing that he could not stand living with them he built himself another homestead and named it *eNdinabafazi* (place where wives anger).

KwaSalabebusa (remain and rule): according to the informant, there was an exchange of homestead names, this name was given to the homestead after the brother of the headman died. After his death, the head of *kwaSalabebusa* left the homestead he was staying at (the informant did not say the name of the homestead), because there were endless talks. He then said to the family members ‘they must remain in and rule, as they wish, because since his brother’s death he could see that they did not want him’. He then built his homestead and named it *kwaSalabebusa*. The elder son of *kwaSalabebusa*, when he left his father’s homestead took its name with him, and his mother gave the homestead a new name *kwaSukasikhulume* (get out of the way so that we can talk) see below. It is said that when the elder son of the homestead left his father’s homestead, there was some friction in the family. Although he took his father’s homestead name as he was supposed to, he was on the other hand expressing his feelings about what was prevailing in the homestead at the time.

KwaBhekomzondayo (look at the one you hate): According to the informant the head of this homestead gave this name to his homestead because he wanted people who hate him to see that he is looking at them. Should they want to do something bad to him, he will see them. He stressed that people must look at people who hate them, to avoid problems.

KwaSukasikhulume (get out of the way so that we can talk): The owner of *kwaSukasikhulume* said she named this homestead because there was friction in the family. The owner of the homestead was referring to someone whom she wanted to talk to about things that were happening and things she believed that person was seeing. She also said that she was being sarcastic by giving the homestead this name. The person she was referring to was the member of the family.

EMpithini⁴⁹ (chaos): Although this name looks like it is a compound name made up of the noun '*impi*' (battle) and the interrogative verb '*ithini*' (what does it say), it is not the case, neither does it refer to the hair style '*impithi*' (dreadlocks). According to the informant the name was derived from the noun '*isiphithiphithi*' (chaos/ up and down). The informant said that her husband and his brothers were quarrelling when they were staying in their father's homestead. Their father then said they must separate, each person must build himself his own homestead so that they can minimise conflict among themselves. The informant's husband then built a homestead and named it *eMpithini* because there were ups and downs and chaos, people moving to build their own homesteads.

KwaMuntungibukani (why is the person looking at me?): The wife of the head of this homestead said that her husband was referring to someone who was always looking at him when he gave this name to his homestead. The informant said that her husband knew that if a person looked at him with a bad eye, s/he had bad intentions, so he wanted the person to be aware that s/he is being seen. He used to say '*Umuntu ungibukani ngoba angidli okwakhe ngidla okwami*' (Why is the person looking at me because I do not eat his I eat my own).

KwaFelokwakhe (die for his own): The head of the homestead said that his father who named the homestead had his own things, which he was prepared to die for. He did not take other people's things and he expected no one to come to him wanting his things. He said that his father was referring to his siblings and his family that there is nothing that they will want from him and he will die for what belonged to him.

KwaLandokwakhe (fetch her own): The head of this homestead said that, poor as she was, she managed to build her own homestead. Because of poverty, when she was building her homestead she remembered that the man whom she was married to took her cows

⁴⁹ The aetiology of this homestead name is obscure. If the homestead name was *eMpithiphithini* the above aetiology would make sense. The aetiology given above is the informant's interpretation, although it might seem obscure, I do not intend to change it.

(*izinguthu*)⁵⁰. She had two cows because two of her daughters had children before they were married. She then went to fetch them herself. That is why she named her homestead *kwaLandokwakhe* because she fetched what belonged to her. She said in Zulu there is a saying which says '*Ifa lakwenye indlu alidliwa kwenye indlu*' (The inheritance of another hut is not eaten in another hut), she then was not prepared to see other people eating what belonged to her.

KwaPhumuhambe (get out and go): The head of this homestead said that he chose this homestead name because he was leaving his father's homestead to build his own. He said it had no hidden messages, although people (especially his family) think he was referring to someone. He says he was referring to himself as time had come for him to get out of his father's homestead. He said that seeing that people were complaining about the homestead name saying that it might have bad implications on him or his homestead, he has decided to change it to *kwaZihlalele* (just stay).

KwaPhumangezwi (leave because of talks): The informant said that when many people stay in one homestead usually there are talks or complaints about each other. The informant said that when they were staying at her husband's homestead, usually there were talks that the wives of both sons (her husband and his brother) were complaining about their mother-in-law and the other son was complaining that the mother always favoured his brother. Due to that, the family used to hold many meetings to solve the disputes between the mother-in-law and the wives and also between the mother-in-law and her sons. Because of the endless talk her husband decided to leave the homestead. He then built his homestead and named it *kwaPhumangezwi* because he did not leave because he wanted to, but he left because of talks.

4.8.2 Care and concern

Although the above categories reflect the friction that exists in different families, apart from the friction that exist in families within the community, some people still see a need for giving

⁵⁰Traditionally in Zulu practice when an unmarried girl gets a child, the person who made her pregnant is supposed to pay for making her pregnant not being married to her. Included in the fines that he pays is the cow that belongs to the mother of the pregnant girl. This cow belongs to no one but the mother of the pregnant girl.

their homesteads names that show their concern either with the members of the family or with the possessions of that particular family, sometimes even with strangers. They feel that what belongs to the family must be preserved for the coming generation. For example:

KwaSalanjalo (always stay behind): The informant said that the homestead was named by her late father in-law, because the members of his family were dying one after the other. Since he was left alone he was supposed to start the family's generation. He named his homestead *kwaSalanjalo* because he was supposed to stay behind and start the family's generation.

KwaBhekinkosana (look at the first born son): According to the informant, when the present chief's father died, the present chief was still very young, so there was a need for someone older to preside for him until a certain time that he was old enough to rule. The present chief's father then asked his brother to look after the chief and to rule on behalf of him until he was old. The brother of the present chief's father built his homestead close to where the present chief was staying so that he could look after him, and then named his homestead *kwaBhekinkosana*, as he was looking after him.

KwaBhekokuhle (look at the good): The head of this homestead named his homestead *kwaBhekokuhle* because he is always looking for the good things to happen to his family, he also wants his children to know that he is expecting good behaviour from them.

KwaBhekimpilo (look at life): According to the informant, life is the most important thing, they then are concerned about the good, the bad and the challenges that life brings. He further said that life should not be taken for granted, it must be greatly respected. He named his homestead *kwaBhekimpilo* because he was concerned with the life of his family.

KwaBhekimpahla (look at the stock): The head of this homestead was supposed to look after his father's stock after his father's death as a first born. When he built his homestead, he named it *kwaBhekimpahla* so that the name would be a reminder of his responsibilities.

ETengeni (spoiled child): As mentioned in the introduction that Menziwa loved Didi (see

chapter one, under the heading ‘the history of the Biyela clan’) and gave him a place of his own where he can rule. When Didi built his homestead he named it *eTengeni* because he was taken good care of.

KwaBhekozayo (look at the one coming): The head of this homestead said she gave this name to her homestead because she is always looking forward to people who come to visit, either people she knows or strangers. She wants them to feel welcomed and at home when they are in her homestead. She does not bother herself about people who do not come to visit, them, she is looking for those who do come to visit.

4.8.3 Reaction

As can be seen from above, tension within different families exists in different situations and some members of the families feel that they are unfairly treated or criticised. To express their feelings of discontent, they build their homestead and use homestead names as an expression of their feelings. Ntuli (1992b:31) says:

“A woman did not understand why she was hated by the other co-wives and ignored by her husband. She kept on asking: ‘What wrong have I done’ (‘Ngoneni’). She named her hut eNgoneni.”

Below are some of the examples of the names that fall under this category.

KwaShiwonjani: According to the majority of informants, when the family is big there is a lot of misunderstanding and tension within that family. Although the latter statement is not universally accepted, it is true in some places. The informant stated that sons of the same man were staying in the same big homestead. One of the sons who had three wives died. The wives stayed in the homestead with their brothers in-laws who were also married. As time passed by, one of the widows was suspected of being a witch, when bad things were happening in the family, fingers were always pointed at her, that she was the cause. She did not understand why she was called a witch, as she was the same as other people living in the homestead. She used to ask ‘*kushiwo onjani ukuthi uyathakatha?*’ (How is the one that is said to be a witch). She then moved out of the homestead and built her homestead and named it *kwaShiwonjani*.

KwaGabigabi (showing off): The man named his homestead *kwaGabigabi*, because he was

from a large family, where they were staying in one homestead. He wished to move out and build his own homestead where he would be able to rule, and be away from his siblings and from her father's wives. His wish became reality and he built his homestead and was showing off to his brothers saying: '*Gabigabi nanku umuzi wami*' (Look here is my homestead).

KwaBukanja (look at the dog): As mentioned earlier, in Zulu tradition, a man's honour depended on the number of cattle he had and also the number of wives he had. The head of this homestead had one wife and when she died he felt that he was nothing, because his friends could not come to visit him and drink beer since there was no one who would make beer. He then named his homestead *kwaBukanja* meaning that he is no longer a man but a dog, when people look at him they see a useless dog.

eMalini (money): This homestead was named by the head's father. The reason for that was because the father of the head of the homestead thought it was the appropriate sarcastic name to give considering circumstances that were prevailing at that time. He said that he was being bewitched and his children were dying and his homestead was also burnt because people were saying he has a lot of money. Seeing that he could not name his homestead because it already had a name, he named his son's homestead *eMalini* (place of money), to say that although they have burnt his homestead, there is still money in the family that is why his son managed to build a homestead.

eMpumaze (leave with nothing): The head of this homestead was the first born in his father's homestead. Traditionally in Zulu the first born inherits his father's possessions, irrespective of how many sons the father might have, the first born inherits everything that belonged to his father. When the head of this homestead separated with his younger brothers who hated him, to build their own homesteads he said: '*Ayikho into eningizondela yona ngoba nobaba wafa engenalutho, njengoba ngiphuma, ngiphuma ngingenalutho ngize*' (There is nothing that you should hate me for, because my father died with nothing, as I am leaving I am leaving with nothing).

KwaDelowaziyo (the one who knows is satisfied): When a person leaves a homestead not

because of his intention, but because of circumstances prevailing in the homestead. If he did not contribute to those circumstances but was always blamed, he always wanted to see what would happen in that homestead after he had left. The head of this homestead named it *kwaDelowaziyo* because he was saying 'he is satisfied the one who knows what caused the friction in his family that led him to leave the homestead'.

ENkohliseni (lies): According to the informant, the elder son who was supposed to be the chief after his father's death did not rule but his younger brother did. The reason for that was that the older son was not interested in matters that deal with ruling, war and kingdom. He then named his homestead *eNkohliseni* meaning that he was lied to when he was told he will rule.

4.8.4 Incidents

Although almost all names analysed in this study are about certain incidents that happen in different families at different times, names included in this category are those that are about unusual incidents that happen within the homestead. As a result of the unusual incidents that happen in a particular homestead, these names have only one denotatum, i.e. they refer to only one homestead with the name and there is no other homestead in the Mabengela district with the same name. It must be stated that as these names are unusual, some members of the families were either not keen to share the aetiology of the homestead name or they did not know what led to a particular choice of the homestead name. Some people are embarrassed to share the underlying reasons for these names. Included in this category are the following names:

KwaMathunywa (the one sent): According to the informant, a man who had three wives died, the chief wife did not have a son to inherit the late father's possessions. The other wives had sons who were old enough. When people thought about who was going to inherit the father's possessions since the chief wife did not have a son, the elder son from the other hut was sent to go and stay in the chief wife's hut so that he would inherit his father's belongings. His brother asked him not to go because he did not belong to that hut as he was not the chief wife's son, but seeing what his father had left behind, he went to stay at the chief wife's hut. A

few months after the death of the headman it was discovered that the wife was pregnant. Everyone in the family wished her not to give birth to a son because that was going to cause dispute in the family, unfortunately their wishes did not come true, the wife gave birth to a son. The new born son was then the inheritor of his late father's possessions. When he wanted to get married for the first time his half brother paid lobolo for him, but for the second time he did not want to pay. The chief wife's son then told him that all that was there belonged to him, he had no right to refuse with anything as it was not his. The brother to the one who went to stay at the chief wife's hut was very disappointed with what his brother did as he said '*Umathunywa avume njengempaka*⁵¹ *ithunywa uyise umthakathi*' (The one sent and agreed like a baboon sent by the father, the witch). If his brother had listened to him in the beginning, he would not have encountered what he encountered. When the brother of the one who was sent moved out of his father's homestead to build his, he named it *kwaMathunywa*.

KwaBhadazi (move clumsily): As mentioned earlier, some homesteads are named by the fathers of the head of the homestead because of particular incidents that lead them to seeing a name that will be appropriate for the son's homestead. The homestead was given this name because when the father of the head of homestead came to visit his son's homestead he found an unknown big foot print at the entrance of one of the huts. The informants said that the foot was discovered in the morning, seemingly someone wanted to enter without invitation, the person did not know that the floor had just been done and it was still wet. Realising that the floor was still wet, after stepping in with one foot, he left a foot print. The informants suspected that it was a witch who left the foot print. When the father of the head of the homestead came the next morning and find the foot print, he asked: '*Ubani lendoda ebibhadazela la?*'" as no one knew, no one came with the answer. He then named the homestead *kwaBhadazi*.

4.8.5 Gossip

Homestead names in this category are names that are associated with gossip either in the family or within the community. The majority of these names nevertheless come about

⁵¹Impaka is an animal that witches send to go and bewitch who ever they want to bewitch, it can even be sent to kill. As this animal is at the mercy of the owner, it goes anywhere it is sent without questioning.

because of gossip within the family rather than within the community. The reason for that is because people in Mabengela have large families because of polygamy and they stay close to one another. This is the reason why there are lot of families with the same surname. An informant when asked why people stay close to one another because they know that leads to a lot of tensions, cited a reason that when death occurs in the family or when someone is sick, it is easier to get the family together to discuss whatever needs to be discussed than it is when people are living far from each other.

Examples of names in this category are:

kwaPhumuzumlomo (give the mouth a rest): The owner of this homestead named her homestead *kwaPhumuzumlomo* because where she was staying there were lots of gossips and endless family discussions about members of the family who complained because of not being satisfied with the proceedings in the homestead. She then moved out and built her homestead and gave it this name because she wanted to give her mouth a rest by moving out of her husband's homestead.

eMlonyeni (mouth): The head of this homestead, when he was young staying at his father's homestead, used to beat other boys and injure them. Because he was troublesome he was taken to his mother's homestead. Even there he was a problem to his mother's family because he never stopped beating people, he even beat his uncle. At his mother's homestead they were not pleased with his behaviour, because of that there were lots of complaints lodged by members of the community and also family members. He then left and went to his father's settlement to build a homestead and named it *eMlonyeni* because he was tired of the talks that he used to be involved in and what people used to say about him.

eNsamlomo (take the mouth to): The informant said that his father named his homestead *eNsamlomo* because he wanted people to take their mouth to his homestead if they want to talk about something they are not satisfied with and stop gossiping and talking behind his back about something that concerned him. The cited reason for that was that there were people who were gossiping about him and the news went around until they reached his ears.

kwaLaluzwile (sleep after hearing): The informant said that the homestead was given this name because everyday one hears something whether it concerns them or not. There is no day that passes by without, that is why there is a saying in Zulu which says '*Alishoni lingenalo izindaba zalo*' (The sun does not set without news). He said at his homestead they do not sleep without having heard anything, before they sleep they ought to hear something whether good or bad.

eNhlangano (meeting): The informant said that the owner of this homestead gave it this name because people (men and women) were against him and they used to get together to talk about him. He then named his homestead from the phrase he used to say which says '*eNhlangano yabafazi namadoda behlangene ngegama lami*' (place of meeting for women and men meeting about my name). There is a common dog name 'uBahlangene' also refers to the above. Koopman (1992:10) says:

"The most common name for a dog that I found in the category "social comment" was **uBahlangene** ('they are gathered together'), and it is interesting to look at the variety of reasons why a dog should have been given this name....

UBahlangene: The neighbours are gathered together against us."

4.8.6 Personality attributes

Different people have different personalities. Some people reveal their personality attributes through homestead names. Names in this category are those that give us some insight of the personality attributes of the name giver. From these names one can get a some idea about the owner of the homestead and his or her general behaviour.

KwaHlezemuhle⁵² (always good/ beautiful): The head of this homestead said he gave this name to his homestead because according to him everyone sees themselves as beautiful in their own eyes. There are few (if any) people who do not love themselves and see themselves as ugly, he also sees himself as always good. He continued saying that it is people who criticise others and compare them to other people, then see that they are not beautiful/good, but in their own eyes they see themselves beautiful. He chose this name because he saw

⁵²*Muhle* in Zulu can mean both 'good' and 'beautiful' in English, although in English good and beautiful mean different things, according to the informant by *muhle*, he meant both good and beautiful.

himself as always beautiful. Although like other people he might make mistakes or hurt others along the way (get criticism) but he is always beautiful.

ENkanini (stubbornness): According to the informant, the head of this homestead's husband had three wives including herself and he died. After the death of her husband, the head of this homestead wanted to move out of her husband's homestead to build her own where she would stay with her children and where she would rule. The in-laws did not agree to what she wanted to do. Despite the in-law's disapproval, she then went and built her homestead saying: '*Ngakha ngenkani*' (I am building by force). She then named the homestead *eNkanini*.

KwaNgenangani (why come in?): According to the informant, the owner of this homestead had a fierce temper, he did not want people to enter his hut when he was still staying at his father's homestead. No one used to enter his hut, even children. What he used to say was: '*uma ungena lapha endlini ungena ngani?*' (If you come in here, what do you want?). A person entering his hut was supposed to have a reason why he is entering his hut. When he built his homestead, he gave it his hut the name, *kwaNgenangani*.

KwaZibhebhu⁵³ (Zibhebhu's): The head of this homestead said she named her homestead *kwaZibhebhu* because she is one of Zibhebhu's descendants and she has fierce- temper like his. People use to say that she is like him, as time went on they started calling her Zibhebhu. When she built a homestead she then named it *kwaZibhebhu*. While interviewing her, some women passed by and greeted her by saying '*Sawubona Zibhebhu*', this homestead name has become her personal name which every member of the community uses when addressing her.

EMandleni (power/ strength): The informant said that her father in-law gave this name to his homestead because he paid lobolo for all his wives without anyone's assistance. The wealth he had to be able to pay lobolo for them was through his hard work and strength and wanted that to be an echo to his family members that he worked very hard to achieve what he had, that is why he named his homestead *eMandleni*.

⁵³Zibhebhu was Sojoyisa's grandson. See page 106-107 about Sojoyisa and his relation to the Zulu royal family.

4.8.7 Peace and harmony

No one wants to always have disputes and friction in their homesteads. Some people always aspire for peace in their homesteads. When conducting field research, it was discovered that the majority of people who gave their homesteads names under this category are those who moved out of the homesteads where there were lots of talk and gossip which led to friction within the family.

EKuphumuleni (rest): The head of this homestead said he named his homestead *eKuphumuleni* because he was from a big family where there were lots of children because it was polygamous. There was jealousy among the members of the family because some children from other huts were prosperous and passing at school whereas some were failing. The wives whose children were not doing well were jealous of the wives whose children were doing well. This led to a lot of friction between the wives and also between the children. When he moved out he named his homestead *eKuphumuleni* because he wanted to rest. The informant said that, that is what led him to having one wife because of having the experience of growing in a polygamous family, he did not want to see his family going through what he went through in his childhood life.

EKukhanyeni (light): The head of this homestead said he named his homestead *eKukhanyeni* because he wanted light in his homestead. He wanted everything to go smoothly. He wanted his children also to be the light in the community, to respect and not to do things he considered negative. He said his children heard his wish and it became reality as all his children respected him, saying that they do not drink and they do not smoke, there is indeed light in his homestead.

KwaPhumawazi (leave knowing) The head of this homestead when asked why he liked this homestead name, said that he did not like it, it was circumstances that led to him giving this name to his homestead. He said at his father's homestead they were four (three sons and one daughter). He then thought that because he was the youngest he would build his own homestead and name it *kwaPhumawazi*, because he knew that at a certain stage he would have to move out of the main homestead because it belonged to his elder brother. He said it is

not good to be told that you must move out, knowing very well that you have to move out because you are young. He said that in most cases when you are told to move out, it is because of conflict in the homestead which create enemies within the family.

4.8.8 Wishes and aspirations

People always have something they wish or hope for. In most cases they wish for something that will have a positive impact in their life or their way of living. These wishes are reflected in some of the homestead names in Mabengela. Names included in this category are:

KwaCelimpilo (ask for health): According to the informant, the reason why his father chose this homestead name was because when they were staying near Vumanhlamvu river (where the majority of people staying in Mabengela were staying) at his grandfather's homestead, his siblings were dying. His father wished for his children not to die. When his father moved to build his own homestead in Mabengela, he named it *kwaCelimpilo*, because he was asking for health for the members of his family. According to the informant, what he asked for did happen because when they were staying in Mabengela his siblings were not dying as they were when they were staying near Vumanhlamvu river.

ENxangiphilile (as long as I am alive): The informant said that the reason why the owner of this homestead named it *eNxangiphilile* was because he was quarrelling with members of his family and other people who were not members of his family. Some of the people he used to quarrel with once chased him with a bush knife, fortunately for him he survived. He used to say: '*Nxa ngiphilile ngizowakha owami umuzi*' (as long as I am alive I will build my own homestead), that is why he named it *eNxangiphilile*.

EThembeni (hope): The informant said that his father was married to one wife (and still is) and they were not getting any children. When his father and his mother moved out of his grandfather's homestead to build his own homestead he named it *eThembeni* because he kept hoping that one day they would have children. After some time in their new homestead, they did get children. The lesson they gave their children was: '*Ithemba alibulali*' (hope does not kill), they must then keep on hoping for what they want, although it might take time for them

to achieve it.

ENtanda (liking): The late head of this homestead said he named his homestead *eNtanda* because he likes ruling. The full name of his homestead is *eNtandakubusa* (place of liking to rule). Being ‘*induna yezinsizwa*’ (young man’s leader) in his youth, and ‘*induna yesigodi*’ (the district’s head man), it can be seen that he did like ruling.

EBugabazini (boast): The informant said that his grandfather before he died built homesteads for his sons. The first homestead he named it *eBuqheni* and the other he named it *eBugabazini*. According to the informant, these two homesteads have the same meaning i.e. to boast. Their father wanted them to boast and be proud about their homesteads. According to the informant, the reason why he gave their homesteads similar names was because he wanted them to know that to him they were equal, he was not in favour of anyone.

4.8.9 Injunction

Homestead names in this category are an injunction to the members of the homestead to practice good morals of the community. The name-giver always wishes that members of the homestead aspire to good moral standards. Although in some families the name-giver’s wish becomes reality, in some it does not. Names included in this category are:

KwaHlalawazi (stay knowing): According to the informant, this homestead name was given this name because the head of the homestead wanted his sons to know that if they are males at a certain stage they will have to get married. He wanted them to start saving money for *lobolo*, because he was not prepared to assist them to pay *lobolo*.

EMthandazweni (prayer): The head of this homestead said that he named his homestead *eMthandazweni* because he believed in God and he wanted his children to grow up knowing God. He said that he wanted them to know that if they want something they should not go and steal from those who have it, instead they must pray to God and it shall be given to them.

KwaBhekithemba (look at hope): According to the informant, the homestead was given this

name because the head of the homestead wanted people living in it to always have hope in whatever they were doing, as he also has hope in everything he does.

4.8.10 Joy and happiness

Because of conflict in the family other members of the family who aspire for happiness which might not be prevailing at the homestead at that time, decide to move out of the homesteads to build their own homesteads so that they can be happy by themselves. Some people give their homesteads names that will remind them or will always be an echo of where they come from, e.g. *eZangomeni* (from the diviners), this homestead name will always remind its owner and the members of his family of the circumstances that made him build his own homestead, because as people call its name, it reminds him of where he came from. People who gave their homesteads names in this category wanted to bury the past and look forward to a better life. These names are:

ENtokozweni (joy): The head of this homestead said he named his homestead *eNtokozweni* because he wanted his family to always be happy, he also wanted people coming to visit his homestead to feel free in his homestead and be happy. He said when people hear his homestead name they know that they would be warmly welcomed and they would be taken good care of.

ENjabulweni (happiness): According to the informant the reason why the head of this homestead named his homestead *eNjabulweni* was because he was very happy when he built his own homestead where he will rule, where his word will be listened to and where he will make his own decisions. Another homestead in Mabengela has the same name i.e. *eNjabulweni*. According to the informant, the reason why the head of this homestead gave this name to it was because his mother was married in a polygamous family, and there used to be problems and tension in their family because the wives sometimes used to exchange words that were not nice. When the head of the family was old enough, he took his mother with him and moved out of their father's homestead to build his own homestead. He then named it *eNjabulweni* because he wanted to be happy with his family. This shows that although the designator of the homestead name can be the same, the designatum will be different.

KwaJabula (happiness): This homestead head gave this name because he wanted people visiting him to always be happy in his homestead.

ENkululekweni (freedom): According to the informant, the reason why this homestead was given this name was because when the head of it and his family were moving out of the homestead they were staying in, they were free as they had their own homestead. The new homestead was then named *eNkululekweni*.

4.8.11 Location

Names included in this category are those names that are about the condition (how the homestead looks, whether it is clean or dirty) of the homestead and its location. If the homestead is not kept in the satisfactory manner, i.e. dirty, the head of it might decide to name the homestead because of its condition. Although sometimes the condition of the homestead might change, its name does not, it always reminds inmates of how it was. Members of the family might not like the name, because it reflects the fact that they are lazy, and they might be embarrassed to talk about its aetiology. They become embarrassed telling other people the underlying reasons which led to that particular homestead name. Names included in this category are:

KwaVimbukhalo (blocking the ridge): According to the informant this homestead was named because it was a big homestead built on a slope. The way it was so big people could not see the ridge. Although this homestead is no longer big as it was when it was named and no longer blocking the ridge, it still bears this name.

ENdulo (ancient): According to the informant the reason why this homestead name was given the name was because it had beehive huts which were very rare to find in the area. These beehive huts were built in ancient times.

4.8.12 Witchcraft

In the majority of cases, these names are about allegations of witchcraft within the family rather than within the community. According to the informant, when a number of people live together especially in big families where polygamy is still practised, they tend to be jealous of one another. This usually happens among the wives and is then passed on to the children who are sometimes told not to play with children from another hut. In rare cases young children are told the reason for that is because the mother of that hut practises witchcraft, but as they grow up they learn to know why they were told not to play with their half brothers and or half sisters.

Following the informant, one of the main reasons for jealousy that exists among the wives is because of their status in the family. The wives that are not the chief wife tend to be jealous of the chief wife because of her and her children's inherent status. The other wives, knowing that neither their children nor they will inherit the husband's possessions after his death, become jealous of the chief wife. If something bad then happens to one of the wives, she feels that someone is bewitching her and according to the informant in most cases that someone is one of the co-wives. The informant stated that it is in very rare circumstances that the allegations are true. Names included in this category are:

KwaDunusa (turn buttocks): According to the informants, the reason why this homestead was given this name was because they were suspecting that someone was bewitching them. The person that was suspected was not staying in the homestead. The members of the family then decided to go to '*isangoma*' so that they can be told who is bewitching them. To their surprise, the *sangoma* pointed at someone within the homestead. They then said: '*Sadunusa samshiya exhibeni*' (turn buttocks and leave the witch in the hut). The news caused tension within the members of the family. One of the members of the homestead then moved out and named his homestead *kwaDumusa*.

EZangomeni (diviners): According to the informant, the reason why this homestead was given this name was because wives that were married to one man were suspecting each other of being witches. Their husband seeing that there was no peace in his homestead suggested

that they should go to the diviners so that they could be told who the witch was and stop making allegations about each other. Some of the members of the family went to the diviners but others did not go. When those who went came back they were asked by those who did not go: '*Zinuke bani izangoma*'? (to whom did the diviners point?) When one of the members of the homestead moved out, he named his homestead *eZangomeni* because of what happened which led her to move out.

ENgedla (to kill): The head of this homestead said his father named the homestead *eNgedla* because someone close to him was bewitching him. He used to say: '*Ukugedla ekuhlelisa umthakathi*' (The witch kills you laughing). He wanted his family to be aware of people they think are their friends because they kill a person while laughing with him/her. The head of the homestead said his father named his other homestead *kwaMuntuyedwa* (the only person), presently he is left alone as he is the only one in his family who is living. He said that when people name their homesteads by being sarcastic, some of what prevails in the homestead follow the name. He said because of the effect the name has had on his family, when he got money he would slaughter a cow or a goat and inform the ancestors that he wanted to change the homestead name to *kwaZibusele* (rule yourself).

4.8.13 Self empowerment

Names in this category include those given by the name giver after being in hard situations and wanting to empower themselves. Other people give these names to their homesteads so that people can see that they do not depend on anyone.

KwaZibonele (see for yourself): According to the informant, when the head of this homestead wanted to get married, he did not have money to pay lobolo. He then went to his father to ask for money to pay lobolo. His father refused to give him money, his answer was: '*Uma usufuna ukushada ndoda zibonele*' (If you want to get married, see for yourself). Seeing that he was not getting assistance from his father, he went to work in Johannesburg. After accumulating enough money for lobolo, he went back home and paid lobolo for his wife to be. He then built a homestead and named it *kwaZibonele*.

KwaZakhele (built for yourself): According to the informant, this name was given to the homestead because the owner of the homestead built his homestead himself. He wanted people and his family to know that if you want something, you must do it for yourself because no one will do it for you.

KwaVukuzithathe (wake up and take yourself): The head of the homestead said that he gave this name because when he was very ill and thinking that he was going to die, his father told him to go and build his own homestead. Members of his family were surprised because they knew he was dying and their question was how could a father ask him to build his homestead. He said one day he was able to walk, he then built a homestead and named it *kwaVukuzithathe*.

OQotsheni (exactly): The head of this homestead is the head of *kwaVukuzithathe*. He said he had two wives, realising that when he dies his sons from both huts will fight for his homestead *kwaVukuzithathe*, he built another homestead, so that the first wife's sons would take *kwaVukuzithathe* and the second wife's sons would take *oQotsheni*. He said he named his second homestead *oQotsheni* so that when the first wife's son wanted to chase the second wife's son from the homestead saying: '*Lo Vukuzithathe owami*' (This *Vukuzithathe* is mine) the second wife's son referring to the homestead he built for them will say: '*Uqobo luka uVukuzithathe yilolu*' (this is the authentic *Vukuzithathe*). He said that they will know that no homestead is better than the other as they both homesteads are *kwaVukuzithathe*.

KwaBhekōkwakhe (Look after his own): The head of this homestead said that he looks after his own things and not other people's things. He then does not want people coming to ask for their things from him, because he does not take what does not belong to him and wants no one to take his things without his permission.

4.8.14 Progress

Names included in this category are those given by the name-giver who wishes to have progress either in their homesteads or in their lives or both. Names included in this category are:

EMpangisweni (rush): The head of this homestead said she named her homestead *eMpangisweni* because she is not rushing anywhere. She said: '*Noma ungaphangisa nami ngiyoze ngifike lapho*' (Even if you can rush, I will also get there). She said she is not rushing anywhere; she takes things easy because she knows that one day she will reach those who are before her.

EKwenyukeni (going up): The informant said that his son gave this name to his homestead because people were looking down on him. By choosing this homestead, he was saying that as time goes by one day he will get where other people are.

KwaThulubheke (keep quite and listen): According to the informant, this homestead was given this name because the head of the homestead was coming from a big polygamous family. One of the his brothers said that it would be better if people built their own homesteads because if they continued staying in their father's until they were married there would be problems as is usually the case when a big family stays together. The other brothers then moved to build their own homesteads. The head of this homestead was not working at that time thus he did not have money. His brothers used to say '*Soke sibone ukuthi uzoke uhambe yini*' (We'll see if you will ever leave). The homestead head's answer was '*Thulani nibheke*' (keep quite and see). When he got a job, he went to build his homestead and named it *kwaThulubheke*.

KwaVulamehlo (open the eyes): The head of this homestead said that he gave this name to his homestead because he always opens his eyes wherever he goes. He always wants to know what is happening and why, if it involves him or will affect him at a later stage. He also wants his family to do the same.

4.8.15 Struggle

Names included in this category are those that involve the head of the homestead's struggle to built a homestead or struggle in life. To a certain extent the struggle might involve the members of the homestead. The only name in this category is:

KwaBambangozwani (hold with a toe): According to the informant, when the head of this homestead was building his homestead no one in the family helped him. When constructing the roof of the homestead, he was holding the hammer in his armpit, the nails in his mouth and the needle with his toes. Because he built the homestead by himself, without anyone's assistance, and his hands were full in such a way that he had to hold with his toe, he named it *kwaBambangozwani*.

4.8.16 Religious affiliations

As can be seen from above, there are different circumstances that lead people to give their homesteads different names. Some people in Mabengela also give their homestead, names which reflect their religious beliefs, although this is not common. Included in this category are the following names:

ENkanyezini (the star): According to the informant, the head of this homestead has strong religious beliefs. When his mother wanted to go to church, his father called his two brothers and him and asked them who wanted to go with the mother, as he did not want her to stay in his homestead if she started going to church. The head of *eNkanyezini* chose to leave his father and two brothers to go with his mother. His father then built them their own homestead. The son stood by his religious beliefs from that time. When he built his own homestead, he named it *eNkanyezini* because he believed he brought the star (which brought light) to the community.

ENkosikhona (God is alive): According to the informant, the head of this homestead gave this name to his homestead because he always believed when he was in trouble that God is alive and would help him overcome whatever obstacles he might come across.

4.8.17 Other

Names in this category are obscure and cannot be put in the above categories. People I consulted do not know the reasons underlying the following names and or interpretation of these names. The aetiology of these names is therefore not provided. These names are: *eMachilweni* (place of disgrace), *eGugwini* (at treasure), *kwaGezinhliziyi* (place of washing

the heart), *eNziwanjani* (place of what is done to them), *kwaChaya* (place of shredding), *eNhlaliyenza* (place of always happening) and *eNhlambinhlabini* (place of the expert swimmer).

4.9 Combination of categories

The narrower categories of homestead names have been discussed above. To see how these names reflect the social dynamics of the community of Mabengela, I have combined the above categories into broader categories. The reason for combining these categories is to see what these names reflect about the community where they are found.

The broader categories are as follows:

1. The categories of conflict, witchcraft, gossip and reaction have been combined into a new category called ‘Friction’.
2. The categories of joy and happiness, injunction, care and concern, peace and harmony have been combined into a new category called ‘Family unity’.
3. The categories of self empowerment, struggle, progress and personality attributes have been combined into a new category called ‘Improvement and prosperity’.
4. The category of religion has been left as it was.
5. The categories of Incidents, condition and location have been combined to ‘Circumstances of the homestead’.
6. The category of wishes and aspirations has been left as it was.
7. Other

Table 2
Percentages of broader categories of homestead names

Broader Categories	Percentages
1. Friction	32.1%
2. Family unity	26.7%
3. Improvement and prosperity	15.8%
4. Circumstances of the homestead	11.6%

5. Hope	5.5%
6. Religious affiliations	2.1%
7. Other	6.2%
Total	100%

4.10 Discussion

In the list of 144 homestead names in Mabengela 32.1% of the homestead names were about friction. These homestead names consisted mostly of friction within the family rather than outside the family. One of the reasons for that is because a number of families in Mabengela practised polygamy⁵⁴ and a substantial number of families still do. Although some people claim that polygamous families in rural areas live harmoniously as it has been the case in the Zulu tradition, Krige (1950:47) says:

“Though the head of the village often has a large number of wives, things run very smoothly in a Zulu village, because each woman is independent.”

this is usually not the case, as the majority of friction names in Mabengela arise because of conflict between the wives and the in-laws and sometimes among the wives themselves. There are advantages when many people live in one homestead, e.g.

- (i) work is quickly done because many hands contribute to speed the process,
- (ii) when there is something to be discussed within the family, each member contributes his ideas to the discussion which help in reaching a solution after most things have been looked at.

According to the majority of informants interviewed, although there are advantages when many people stay in the same homestead, there are disadvantages also, because people do not see things in the same way and some people tend to be jealous of what other people do. One informant said that that is why there is a saying in Zulu which says: *‘Izinkunzi ezimbili azihlali esibayeni esisodwa’* (Two bulls do not stay in the same kraal).

Friction and tension in Zulu society are openly expressed through various names bestowed on

⁵⁴As homestead names are rarely changed, a majority of homestead names still reflect the friction that used to happen within the homestead.

various entities.

Koopman (1986:106) referring to names about friction says:

“Such causes of friction are seldom expressed in Zulu personal names, probably because of the two vehicles of womens’ praises, and the names of dogs exist to serve this purpose”

Turner (1992:44) says:

“ Although there is ample evidence of this in dog, and oxen names, as well as in womens’ praising, there is also a significant number of personal names which reflect sentiments of criticism and discontent specifically within the domestic environment⁵⁵.”

Although the above statements are true, they are not relevant to every community. In Mabengela, friction is often expressed in homestead names. The reason for that is because not every family has a dog on which the name can be bestowed, and also because as there are homesteads to which these names can be given, people see no need to bestow these names on their children.

Although there is friction in some families, some people see the need to unite and to show concern about their families. They then give their families names that reflect their desires, 26.7% of homestead names in Mabengela were those that are about family unity. It was discovered that these names were given by people who were coming from polygamous families.

Some people give their homesteads names that reflect their struggling, perseverance and also progress in either their lives, their family’s lives or both. 15.8% of homestead names in Mabengela were those that were about prosperity. The majority of people in Mabengela believe in their ancestors. Although some people belong to some religious groups, their beliefs are rarely reflected in their homestead names, that is why names about religious affiliations consist of only 2.1%.

These homestead names are as a result of the individual’s or the society’s deeds . This is because to some extent the societies we live in affect the way people behave and therefore

⁵⁵Turner (1992:44) states that the term ‘domestic’ refers not only to the actual home environment, but encompasses also the broader surrounding community.

affect the choice of a particular homestead name one chooses for the homestead. For example in a society where there are lots of allegations about witchcraft, names like *kwaNyangithini* (place of ‘what does the herbalist say?’), *eZangomeni* (place of diviners), etc. will be found.

4.11 Conclusion about homestead names as the reflection of social dynamics

There are various reasons why people in Mabengela choose certain homestead names for their homesteads:

- (i) A homestead may be named to uniquely identify a homestead from others.
- (ii) A homestead name may serve to minimise friction within the society.
- (iii) A homestead name also expresses the feelings and the attitudes of the name giver.
- (iv) A homestead name may also be a representation of a social history of a particular homestead.
- (v) Above all, like various names in African countries, homestead names mirror the societies where they are found.

The aetiology of Zulu homestead names has much in common with that of personal names from different African societies.

Turner (1992:43) says:

“ Among the Zulu people, not only do names serve as useful labels to distinguish one particular person from another in the community or society at large, they also reflect the occurrence of certain natural or historic events commensurate with birth of the child. In addition, the giving of a particular name to a child may furthermore be done with the express purpose of inculcating in it certain desirable attitudes or behaviour traits by virtue of the semantics attached to the name, e.g. **Nomusa** (kindness), **Mondli** (the provider), **Nonhlanhla** (the lucky one) etc. Thus the name with regard to African society, is not simply a reference to a person, or a label.”

Evans Pritchard (1939:237) cited in Koopman (1986:132) says:

“Names of all kinds are social documents, which fix a person’s position in the social structure and define his relations to other members of the society.”

Moyo (1996:16) says:

“Names have thus evolved with the institution they reflect within the immediate and extended social contexts of the family clan.”

Golele (1993: 85) says:

“Names reflect the society of community in which they are found. They originate in

different circumstances which may be social economic, political or legal.”

Using the above quotes as the basis of this study, it can be seen that homestead names are not just mere labels chosen at random, they reflect the social significance of places or people who bear them. The naming process can thus not be separated from the society where events happen. These events are to a great extent determined by the society in which a homestead is named. The study of names is thus a disguise for the study of people's way of living, traditions, culture and attitudes towards their surroundings.

CHAPTER 5 GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 Fieldwork

There is a great need for fieldwork in rural areas. According to Cross (1990:25) some insight from rural areas is needed. People tend not to research rural areas because these areas are underdeveloped, i.e. do not have facilities e.g. electricity, telephones, tap running water etc. Although rural areas are sometimes described as places that are backward, these places have past, present and future and they are interesting areas to research because they have tremendous information that is undocumented. Unlike in some urban areas where people do not know anything about their culture and their origin, people in Mabengela know their culture and they believe in it.

There are no recipes for successful field research, as each area of research presents its own difficulties depending on various factors e.g. cultural backgrounds of both the researcher and the researched, the willingness of the researched to give information etc. The researcher might plan for the research in advance, about what s/he wants to research and the way to go about meeting the planned goals, putting plans into action may be something different to what the researcher was expecting. The researcher must always expect dramatic changes in his/her research plans and must be prepared to overcome them. Researchers must be prepared to change their plan of action as the research progresses. West (1990:312) says:

✓ “I would stress one further point. There are no easy formulae for successful field research, and each project presents its own difficulties. There can be no programmatic preparation, but each researcher needs to be aware of, and prepared for, potential problems that occur. In the end, the obligation is to produce a research account which is sufficiently full methodologically to allow the reader to assess the context properly and to evaluate the work accordingly.”

The success or failure of fieldwork depends largely on the local support of the community where the research is conducted. The researched are a major source of information without whom the research might be a failure. They then should be made to feel comfortable in the presence of the researcher. Unlike public speakers who are usually confident when being interviewed, rural interviewees are usually not confident when being interviewed as they are not used to being interviewed, it is then the researchers responsibility to make sure that they are comfortable and at ease with the interview. Hugo (1990:120) says:

“An interview situation which arouses an ego threat in the respondent can seriously impair interviewer-respondent communication and lead to the omission, distortion and fabrication of information.”

Informants in rural areas are usually suspicious of people they do not know, they then tend to ask lots of questions. For example:

- (i) Who are you ?
- (ii) Where are you coming from ?
- (iii) Why are you not researching where you come from?
- (iv) What are we going to get after giving you the information?

The above questions should nevertheless not impair the progress of the research. In the community where I was conducting research, although the above questions were usually asked every time before conducting the interview, interviewers were willing to share their information. Interviewees were polite and welcoming which contributed to the smooth running of the research project. Cross (1990:36) says:

“Obviously doing fieldwork itself is subject to some of the same kinds of misunderstanding of cultural idiom, but in Black South African rural and semi-rural populations are normally patient and polite to their investigating visitors - and if they are not, there is nothing much to do about it.”

Collecting data either by participant observation or conducting interviews can be exhausting, frustrating and exciting as different informants present different encounters. Although this is usually the case, according to Viljoen (1990:300) field work is very rewarding for the researcher in terms of the exposure to the real life experiences of other people. Viljoen says that she prefers, where it is suitable, to opt for qualitative research when the need for depth of insights and understanding outweighs the need for quantification.

In agreement with Hodder-Williams (1990:99) there is no doubt that the most exciting and rewarding aspect of research is the fieldwork. Apart from getting the data I needed for the study, I learned a lot about Zulu practices in rural areas and the way some people live in rural areas. One thing fieldwork teaches is the ability to cope with the unexpected.

Although fieldwork yields qualitative results at the initial stage qualitative research was seen as the method for collecting data, at the end of the report quantitative accounts had to be made.

5.2 Summary of the Morphology of homestead names

The majority of homestead names in Mabengela are those derived from nouns and verbs. Homestead names are locatives, because they prefix the locative prefix *e-* or *o-* and suffix the locative suffix *-ini* or *-eni*. Unlike some place names which do not take the locative *kwa-* for example: eMpangeni, eShowe, eMadadeni etc., homestead names also take the locative prefix *kwa-* which is usually used with personal nouns of class 1a. Koopman says that place names based on the personal names of individuals must use the locative prefix *kwa-*. When the locative prefix *kwa-* is used with homestead names it tends to personify the house. Homestead names delete phonologically like personal names do.

Van Huyssteen (1994:56) says:

“The noun **amajuba** (doves) has become entrenched as a place name through capitalisation in the form **aMajuba**. However, another morphologically exceptional form **iMajuba** has also become common. This can be linked to the morpho-semantic tendency of class shift.”

Fieldwork was conducted to see the prefix variation of homestead names. It was discovered that unlike some place names which are morphologically similar to nouns (place names which employ a radical prefix only) as mentioned by Van Huyssteen (op cit), homestead names are morphologically distinct to nouns. According to the informants homestead names do not employ a radical prefix, they always appear in their locative form. For example, **eMahlayizeni** will never be ***iMahlayizeni**, the same applies to **oQotsheni** will never be ***uQotsheni**. Unlike place names which comprise non locative construction (Van Huyssteen op cit) homestead names, always appear in their locative form. The use of capitals in Zulu homestead names indicate that they are names, not nouns.

5.3 Summary of findings

The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the extent to which some Zulus still give names to their homesteads and also to see if these names have significance to the social dynamics prevailing in communities where they are found. It was discovered that to a large extent people living in Mabengela still see a great need to name their homesteads and that these names cannot be separated from the events, circumstances or incidents that happen in a particular homestead where the name is given. Homestead names reflect the social dynamics

of communities where they are found. Although the primary function of these names is to distinctly distinguish one homestead from the other, these names serve other functions.

Homestead naming has been a Zulu practice for as long as Zulu history can be traced. Mabengela is the area where there has been relatively little disturbance of rural lifestyle. The population in Mabengela is mainly Zulu. People living in Mabengela name their homesteads to distinguish one homestead from the other as people of the same clan usually settle close to one another and also to communicate their feelings and attitudes towards certain things. The practice of homestead naming has been abandoned in some rural communities because people in those communities no longer see the need to name their homesteads. One of the reasons why people no longer see the need to name their homesteads is that not many homesteads share the same surname. The reason for this is because of migration and people from other communities coming to settle in those communities.

Although there is a remarkable level of migration in the area, and the influence of English from the schools, what was noted in homestead names in Mabengela was the non existence of borrowed names, whether from other African languages or from Western languages. Homestead names in Mabengela are then a true reflection of a Zulu rural community.

Unlike some Western names which are chosen or bestowed to entities because they sound good, homestead names are chosen because of meaning attached to the name. When a name is given in a Zulu community, in most cases the name-giver is not aware of the morphology of the name but is usually aware of the aetiology of a particular name. Zulu homestead names are lexically and contextually meaningful. These names are not just mere labels used to identify or to distinguish one homestead from the other. According to Turner (1992:43) the giving of a particular name to a homestead child may furthermore be done with the express purpose of inculcating in it certain desirable attitudes or behaviour traits by virtue of the semantics attached to the name... Thus the name with regard to African society, is not simply a reference to a person, or a label.

According to Meiring (1994:65) because names reflect how people think or see the world

around them, names will ultimately be targets for change. Although this is true with some place names, it is not true with homestead names. Like personal names which are rarely changed when circumstances change, homestead names also rarely change.

APPENDIX 1

THE LIST OF HOMESTEAD NAMES COLLECTED BY

L. PLASSMANN

Names of homesteads in Mabengela
(*izigodi* under Induna Khanyile in the
izifunda of Inkosi B.P. Biyela), collected by
L. Plassman, translated by A. Koopman
(*translated by J. Biyela **translated by
B.P. Biyela)

The Biyela family:

1. EMAHLAYIZENI (1)**
p.o. the place where people come to
2. KWABHEKINKOSANA (2)
p.o. look up to the chief's son
3. KWABAMBANGOZWANI (4)
p.o. take by the toe
4. ENTOKOZWENI (5)
p.o. joy
5. KWAHLEZIMUHLE (6)
p.o. always beautiful
6. ENKANYEZINI (7)
p.o. the stars
7. KWANGENANGANI (8)
p.o. come in by means of what
8. KWABHEKOZAYO (9)
p.o. look to what is coming
9. KWABONGOKUHLE (10)
p.o. give thanks to the good
10. KWANHLANGANO (11-72)
p.o. meeting
11. KWAZIBHEBHU (12-71)
p.o. Zibhebhu
12. OZALWENI (15)
common descendants
13. KWACELIMPILO (16)
p.o. ask for health
14. KWAPHUMUZUMLOMA (17)
p.o. give rest to the mouth
15. KWAZIBONELE (18)
p.o. see for yourself
16. KWATHELAMANZI (19)
p.o. pour out water
17. ETENGENI (20)
p.o. spoiled child*
18. EMLONYENI (21)
in the mouth
19. KWAPHELA (22)
p.o. coming to an end (p.o. Mr
Cockroach)
20. EMBANGISWENI (23)
p.o. dispute
21. KWAVULAMEHLO (26)
p.o. open the eyes
22. KWASITHINDODA (27)
p.o. we say it's a man
23. KWANQODO (28)
p.o. "Absolutely Not!"
24. ENKULULEKWENI (30)
p.o. freedom
25. EKUKHANYENI (31)
p.o. light
26. EKUZAMENI (33)
p.o. striving
27. KWAPHUMUWAZI (34)
p.o. come out and know it
28. KWASHONJANI (35)
p.o. "How you say?"
"talking about someone else"*
29. KWASALABEBUSA (36)
p.o. remain while they rule
30. EKWAZINI (37)
p.o. knowledge
31. KWAMATHUNYWA (38)
p.o. those sent
32. KWACHAYA (39)
p.o. the one who lost
33. KWAMUNTUNGIFUNANI (41)
p.o. what does he want from me
34. ENKOHLISENI (42)
p.o. deceit
35. EKUPHUMULENI (44)
p.o. rest
36. KASALANJALO (51)
stay like that

37. KWATHULUBHEKE (54)
p.o. be quite and watch
38. ENJABULWENI (57)
p.o. joy
39. ENAKAZI (59)
p.o. red/brown-white spotted beast
40. NKANINI (64)
p.o. obstinacy
41. KWABUKANJA (65)
p.o. look at the dog/ p.o. starring*
42. ENDINA (70)
place which angers (the
witchcrafters)*
43. KWABHEKOKHULU (75)
p.o. look to the old-ones
44. ENKOTHWENI (76)
place in the groove
45. GABIGABI (79)
“Look what I’ve got” (children’s cry)
46. KWANYANGITHINI (80)
p.o. what does the herbalist say
47. KWASALABENABE (81)
p.o. stay while they are happy
48. EZANGOMENI (84)
p.o. diviners
49. KWAVIMBA (86)
p.o. deterring/ protecting
50. NXANGIPHILILE (87)
p.o. “When I’m live”
51. MBUSWENI (90)
p.o. ruling
52. KWABEKINGANE (91)
p.o. look after the child
53. KWAHLALUWAZI (92)
p.o. stay and know it
54. KWAZAKHELE (94)
p.o. built for yourself
55. MPOQWENI (97)
compulsion/ force
56. KWABHEKIMPILO (105)
look for health
57. KWAYINGAZA (106)
being embarrassed
58. KWAZIHLALELE (107)
p.o. live for yourself
59. KWAFELOKWAKHE (108)
p.o. die for your own
60. ENJABULWENI (x)
p.o. joy
61. ENHLANHLENI (110)
p.o. luck
62. KWADELOWAZIYO (110)
p.o. be satisfied with what you know
63. EBHETHANIYA (111)
strike as you go (??)
64. KWAGIBINGWENYA (113)
p.o. set a trap for the cxrocodile
65. KWADLANI (114)
p.o. what to eat
66. KWAKHULUMOKUTHANDAYO
(115)
p.o. speak what you like
67. KWAZIHLEKE (119)
p.o. laugh at yourself
68. ENTETELELO (122)
p.o. forgiveness
69. ZIBHEMBENI (134)
the one who doesn’t cooperate
70. GEZINHLIZIYO (137)
wash the heart
71. VUNONJANI (138)
how do you reap
72. KWABHEKIMPAHLA (140)
p.o. look after the stock
73. EZINTANDANENI (142)
among the lovers
74. The Sibiya family:
KWA... (next to 73)

The Majola family:
75. KWAJABULA (25)
p.o. be happy
76. KWAVIKINKULUMO (32)
p.o. warding of speech
77. EMPITHINI (40)
p.o. red duiker (impithi hairstyle?)
(Looking after*)
78. KWABHEKOKUHLE (45)
p.o. expecting good things*
79. ENDLUYAMANDLA (47)
house of strenght
80. OQOTSHENI (48)
p.o. inflagranti*

81. KWAVUKUZITHATHE (50)
p.o. wake up and take it for yourself
82. EBUGABAZINI (52)
p.o. uncontrolled talk
83. KWALANDOKWAKHE (56)
p.o. follow your own
84. KWABHEKALIGCINE (57)
p.o. look after to the end
85. ENDUMAKUDE (95)
p.o. resounding afar (being very famous)
86. KWAMUNTUNGIBUKANI (96)
p.o. what is the person watching me for
87. NSAMULOMO (98)
leave alone because he talks too much*
88. LALUZWILE (100)
hear it before you sleep
89. ENTOKOZWENI (102)
p.o. joy
90. EMKHANDLWINI (103)
p.o. assembly (open place)
91. ENXANGIPHILILE (109)
when I'm alive
92. NKOSIKHONA (123)
the Lord is present/ the chief is hear
93. KWABHEKOZAYO (146)
p.o. look to what is coming
- The Mpungose family
94. KWAPHUMANGEZWI (3)
p.o. come out by voice
95. KWAČELIMPILO (60)
p.o. ask for health
- The Luthuli family
96. PHINDUKNENZE (14)
p.o. do it again
97. EKUQINENI (24)
p.o. firmness
98. KWAVAMBA (62)
p.o. Mr careless
99. KWANUKA (68)
p.o. smelling
- The Ntuli family

100. KWAPHUMANGEZWI (29)
p.o. come out by voice
101. KWADLASUTHE (30)
p.o. eat until you're sated
- The Shezi family
102. KWABHEKOKHULE (53)
look up to what is good
103. ETHEMBENI (58)
hope
- The Mbatha family
104. KWA...(66)
- The Khumalo family
105. KWAZENZE
p.o. ave
- The Khoza family
106. EMANDLENI (69)
in the strenght
- The Sikhakhane family
107. KWANGENDLA (73)
108. KHETHOWAKHE (74)
p.o. choose your own
- The Ngema family
109. KWAPHUMUHAMBE (77)
p.o. come out and go
- The Mkhize family
110. KWABHEKOMZONDAYO (78)
p.o. look to the one whom you hate
111. EGUGWINI (112)
p.o. treasure
112. NXANGIPHILILE (87)
when I'm alive
- The Xulu family
113. KWABHEKOMTHANDAYO (85)
p.o. look to the one whom you hate
- The Ntombela family
114. EMPINDESWENI (82)
p.o. revenge
115. MPUMAKE (83)

- “Get out!”
116. ENDULO (104)
in olden times
117. EKUTHULENI (116)
p.o. peace
118. EMBUSWENI (117)
p.o. ruling
119. EMBANGISWENI (118)
p.o. dispute
120. KWAVIKAMAZWI (120)
p.o. warding of words
121. BHEKUKUPHIWA (125)
look at the giving
122. EKUTHULENI (124)
p.o. peace
123. MHAWINI (127)
p.o. strong emotions (~jealousy)
124. MALINI (128)
how much money
125. DELOWAZIYO (129)
be satisfied with what you know
126. ZONDOMPHAYO (130)
hate the one to whom you give
127. NZIWANJANI (131)
128. MTHANDAZWENI (132)
he who likes what he hears
129. DUNUSA (133)
‘turntail’
130. SIMANGENI (135)
a weird occurrence
131. KWENYUKENI (136)
on the ascent
132. KWABHEKOPHANAYO (137)
p.o. look to the one who respects
you

- The Khanyile family
133. EMLENZENI (101)
p.o. the leg
134. EBUSIKISIKINI (126)
p.o. restlessness
135. ENTANDA
p.o. the one who likes to rule/live
in luxury*
136. EMANDLENI
p.o. power*
137. NHLALIMVENZA

- it usually happens*
138. KWABONGAKUPHI
p.o. where do you give thanks*
139. EHLAMBIBHLAMBINI (143)
p.o. preparing for sacrificial washing
140. EMALHILWENI (144)
- The Ndlovu family
141. KWAPHUMUZUMLOMO (145)
- The Mokoena family
142. KWABHEKITHEMBA (121)
- The Buthelezi family
143. KWANQABA
p.o. the Fort*
- The Kubheka family
144. EZABENI
p.o. struggling*

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF REVISED AND EDITED HOMESTEAD NAMES IN MABENGELA

Names of homesteads in Mabengela
(*izigodi* under Induna Khanyile in the
izifunda of Inkosi B.P.Biyela), edited by
M. Shabalala

The Biyela family:

1. **EMahlayizeni¹**
2. **KwaBhekinkosana**
place of looking after the chief's son
3. **KwaBambangozwani**
place of taking by a toe
4. **ENTokozweni**
place of joy
5. **KwaHlezemuhle**
place of always being beautiful
6. **ENkanyezini**
place of the stars
7. **KwaNgenangani**
*place of coming in for what reason
means of what*
8. **KwaBhekozayo**
place of looking at the one coming
9. **KwaBongokuhle**
place of thanking the good
10. **ENhlangano**
place of meeting
11. **KwaZibhebhu**
at Zibhebhu's
12. **OZalweni**
place of descendants
13. **KwaCelimpilo**
place of asking for health
14. **KwaPhumuzumlomo**
place of giving the mouth a rest
15. **KwaZibonele**
place of seeing for yourself
16. **KwaThelamanzi**
place of pouring water
17. **ETengeni**
place of no good health
18. **EMlonyeni**
at the mouth
19. **KwaPhehla**
place of stirring
20. **EMPangisweni**
place of rushing
21. **KwaVulamehlo**
place of opening the eyes
22. **KwaSithindoda**
place of hiding a man
23. **KwaNqodo**
place of refusal
24. **ENkululekweni**
place of freedom
25. **EKukhanyeni**
place of light
26. **EKuzameni**
place of trying
27. **KwaPhumawazi**
place of leaving knowing
28. **KwaShiwonjani**
place of "How you say?"
29. **KwaSalabebusa**
place of remaining and rule
30. **EKwazini**
place of knowledge
31. **KwaMathunywa**
place of the one sent
32. **KwaChaya**
place of shredding
33. **KwaMuntungifunani**
*place of what does the person
want from me*
34. **ENkohliseni**
place of deceit
35. **EKuphumuleni**
place of rest
36. **KwaSalanjalo**
place of always remaining
37. **KwaThulubheke**

¹According to the informant no one knows the exact meaning of this name except the person who named it, who died centuries ago.

- place of keeping quite and watching*
38. **ENjabulweni**
place of joy
39. **ENakazi**
*place of red/brown-white spotted
beast*
40. **ENkanini**
place of stubbornness
41. **KwaBukanja**
place of looking at the dog
42. **ENdina**
place which angers
43. **KwaBhekuklulu**
place of looking after
44. **ENkothweni**
place in the groove
45. **KwaGabigabi**
place of showing off
46. **KwaNyangithini**
place of what does the herbalist say
47. **KwaSalabenabe**
place of remaining and be satisfied
48. **EZangomeni**
place of the diviners
49. **KwaVimbukhalo**
place of blocking the ridge
50. **ENxangiphilile**
place of as long as I am alive
51. **EMbusweni**
place of ruling
52. **KwaBhekingane**
place of looking after the child
53. **KwaHlalawazi**
place of stay knowing
54. **KwaZakhele**
place of building for yourself
55. **EMpoqweni**
place of force
56. **KwaBhekimpilo**
place of looking for health
57. **KwaYingaza**
place of stupid
58. **KwaZihlalele**
place of just staying
59. **KwaFelokwakhe**
place of dying for his own

60. **ENjabulweni**
place of joy
61. **ENhlanhleni**
place of luck
62. **KwaDelowaziyo**
*place of "Is satisfied the one who
know"*
63. **EBhethaniya**
at Bethaniya
64. **KwaGibingwenya**
place of trapping a crocodile
65. **KwaDlani**
place of what to eat
66. **KwaKhulumokuthandayo**
place of saying what you like
67. **KwaZihleke**
place of laughing at yourself
68. **ENTethelelo**
place of forgiveness
69. **EZibhembheni**
the one who doesn't cooperate
70. **KwaGezinhliziyi**
place of washing the heart
71. **KwaVunonjani**
place of how is the one you favour?
72. **KwaBhekimpahla**
place of looking after the stock
73. **EZintandaneni**
place of the orphans

The Sibiya family:

74. **Kwa...**

The Majola family:

75. **KwaJabula**
place of happiness
76. **KwaVikinkulumo**
place of warding the speech
77. **EMpithini**
place of ups and downs
78. **KwaBhekokuhle**
place of expecting the good
79. **ENDluyamandla**
house of strength
80. **OQotsheni**
place of the real one
81. **KwaVukuzithathe**

- place of waking up and taking
yourself*
82. **EBugabazini**
place of pride
83. **KwaLandokwakhe**
place of fetching her own
84. **KwaBhekaligcine**
place of looking at it for the last time
85. **ENdumakude**
place of sounding afar
86. **KwaMuntungibukani**
*place of what is a person watching me
for*
87. **ENsamlomo**
place where to take the mouth to
88. **KwaLaluzwile**
place of sleeping after you've heard
89. **ENTokozweni**
place of joy
90. **EMkhandlwini**
place of assembly
91. **ENxangiphilile**
place of as long as I'm alive
92. **ENkosikhona**
place of 'the Lord is present'
93. **KwaBhekozayo**
place of looking at who is coming
- The Mpungose family
94. **KwaPhumangezwi**
place of leaving because of talks
95. **KwaCelimpilo**
place of asking for health
- The Luthuli family
96. **KwaPhindukwenze**
place of doing it again
97. **EKuqineni**
place of firmness/ strength
98. **KwaVamba**
place of careless
99. **KwaNuka**
place of smell

- The Ntuli family
100. **KwaPhumangezwi**
place of leaving because of talks

101. **KwaDlasuthe**
place of eating until you are full

The Shezi family

102. **KwaBhekokuhle**
place of expecting the good
103. **EThembeni**
place of hope

The Mbatha family

104. Kwa...

The Khumalo family

105. **KwaNzenze²**

The Khoza family

106. **EMandleni**
place of strength

The Sikhakhane family

107. **Engedla**
place of killing
108. **KwaKhethokwakhe**
place of choosing his own

The Ngema family

109. **KwaPhumuhambe**
place of getting out and leaving

The Mkhize family

110. **KwaBhekomzondayo**
place of looking at the one you hate

111. **EGugwini**
place of treasure

112. **ENxangiphilile**
place of as long as I'm alive

The Xulu family

113. **KwaBhekomthandayo**
place of looking at the one you love

²People staying in this homestead that were interviewed did not know the meaning of this homestead name, but they said the name does not mean 'place of an ave'

The Ntombela family

114. **EMpindesweni**
place of revenge
115. **EMpumaze**
place of leaving with nothing
116. **ENdulo**
place of the olden times
117. **EKuthuleni**
place of quietness
118. **EMbusweni**
place of ruling
119. **EMbangisweni**
place of dispute
120. **KwaVikamazwi**
place of warding words
121. **KwaBhekukuphiwa**
place of expecting to be given
122. **EKuthuleni**
place of quietness
123. **EMhawini**
place of jealousy
124. **EMalini**
place of money
125. **KwaDelowaziyo**
place of 'is satisfied the one who knows'
126. **KwaZondomphayo**
place of hating the one that gives him
127. **ENziwanjani**
128. **EMthandazweni**
place of prayer
129. **KwaDunusa**
place of showing the buttocks
130. **ESimangeni**
place of a weird occurrence
131. **EKwenyukeni**
Place of ascending/going up
132. **KwaBhekophanayo**
place of looking at the one who gives

The Khanyile family

133. **EMlenzeni**
At the leg
134. **EBusikisikini**
place of restlessness
135. **ENTandakubusa**
place of the one who likes to rule

136. **EMandleni**
place of strength
137. **ENhlaliyenza**
place of 'it usually happens'
138. **KwaBongakuphi**
place of which do you thank
139. **ENhlambinhlabini**
place of expert swimmer
140. **EMachilweni**
Place of disgrace

The Ndlovu family

141. **KwaPhumuzumlomo**
place of giving the mouth a rest

The Mokoena family

142. **KwaBhekithemba**
place of hoping

The Buthelezi family

143. **KwaNqaba**
place of the Fort

The Kubheka family

144. **EZabeni**
place of struggling

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